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We Render an Accounting

THIS week it is my pleasant duty to report the results of the campaign for funds initiated in February in a letter addressed by me to our regular full-term subscribers. That letter described *The Nation's* current financial difficulties arising from war-time increases in production costs. It urged subscribers to help create a sustaining fund by becoming members of The Nation Associates, the various classes of membership calling for contributions of from $10 to $100 or more. The letter went to some 12,000 persons. Although the subscription list totals more than 25,000, the remainder is made up of short-term subscribers, libraries, organizations, newspapers, college classes, and other groups to whom it seemed unsuitable to appeal.

The response was so prompt and so generous that within a few weeks it became clear that the $25,000 necessary to clear off the deficit and insure *The Nation's* existence would undoubtedly come in. And so in the issue of March 27 I reported that reassuring fact. Along with the contributions came a flood of letters expressing the warmth of feeling with which its readers regard *The Nation* and their determination not to allow this organ of democratic opinion to become a casualty of the war for democratic survival. The letters seemed to us almost as good an insurance for *The Nation's* future as the money itself.

But not even the encouraging early returns prepared us for the present total count. And the final results are not in yet. Every day brings a few additional checks, so that a further report will be necessary later on. Of the 12,637 subscribers who received letters, more than 26 per cent answered and more than 22 per cent contributed to the fund. The grand total reached by the last day of April was $36,351.19. The expense of the campaign, for typing, postage, mailing, and clerical help, has amounted to $3,489.70.

So *The Nation's* sustaining fund, contributed by some 2,867 subscribers, stands today at $32,861.49. I believe this result represents something like a record for mail campaigns to raise money.

This figure includes, however, only contributions made as a direct response to the letter to subscribers. Other

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gifts have come in, some spontaneously from friends who knew of our need for funds, some as the result of special requests to individuals. Such contributions amount to $2,145 more and bring the net total up to $35,006.49.

The editors of *The Nation* are deeply grateful to the subscribers and other friends who contributed to this formidable result. Our readers have saved the life of their journal and set it on solid ground. We give our particular thanks to the many who contributed more than they could easily afford, believing *The Nation* more important than their own comforts. We hope they will feel an even closer sense of identification with the journal they have helped through the crisis that threatened its existence.

Now for the future. It is only because of our newly-won security in the present that we are able to plan for a better *Nation* in the months and years to come. They offer this fighting journal its greatest challenge. The struggle against reaction in domestic and foreign affairs is *The Nation's* particular job. It is essential that we wage that fight with all the ability we can command and on the widest possible front. FREDA KIRCHWEY

The Shape of Things

BEFORE THE TWO WEEKS' COAL TRUCE ENDS an agreement is likely to be negotiated which will give John L. Lewis enough of his demands to enable him to claim a victory. Once again the miners' leader has outlasted and outsmarted the government and he has been able to do so primarily because the members of his union were solidly behind him. Believing as we do that Mr. Lewis is an evil influence in the labor movement, we deplore the fact that he should have been allowed to triumph but we recognize that the alternative, at this late date, was a disastrous stoppage of work and a strong probability of bloodshed in the coalfields. Newspapers such as the New York *Times* are disappointed by the armistice which Mr. Ickes has arranged. The interests they represent were anxious for a showdown, no matter what the cost, and so too it appears were some left-wingers in the Administration. But a fight to a finish would have permanently weakened both the New Deal and the unions and we believe that Mr. Ickes made a wise decision when he sought a basis for a compromise.

*

THE SETTLEMENT IS LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE lines of the annual wage proposal put forward by Dr. John Steelman during the negotiations between the U. M. W. and the operators. There will be no increase in hourly rates but the miners will be guaranteed a six-day week throughout the coming year with one day paid at overtime rates. According to the operators 90 to 95 per cent of the miners are already working six days a week regularly and, if this is true, the additional cash paid out as the result of a guaranteed annual wage will not be a very formidable sum. Moreover, the owners have already been granted an extra payment on every ton of coal mined to enable them to meet the increased cost of a six-day week. The New York *Times,* however, in an exaggerated attack on the annual wage proposals points out that the average pre-war working year was 182 days so that 312 days of guaranteed work or wages would increase annual mine wages by about 70 per cent without allowing for the effect of overtime rates. But the other side of the medal is that the system of part-time labor, which the operators maintained so as to take off their shoulders the burden of fluctuating demand, means that a far greater labor force than was really needed was kept under-employed. If the wartime demand for coal is insufficient to keep all the miners fully employed it is intolerable that a surplus should be maintained in the mining villages while elsewhere manpower is at a premium. Thus an annual wage should serve to increase total productive capacity as well as to satisfy the miners.

*

ADMIRAL ROBERT—NOW IT CAN BE TOLD—does not love us. He has been trying to convey that fact in every possible way for two and a half years, but the American State Department until last week appears to have gone on the assumption that he was just being coy. After the fall of France the little tryrant of Martinique, designated by Vichy as High Commissioner of all French possessions in the Americas, rounded up Allied sympathizers, ruthlessly suppressed De Gaullist activity of any sort, and by short wave unloosed a barrage of pro-Axis propaganda, including warm congratulations to the Japanese on their accomplishments at Pearl Harbor. While the Admiral was so engaged the State Department undertook and continued a series of endless conversations with him, affecting to treat him as a sovereign ruler despite the fact that he openly relayed all American proposals to Vichy for the approval of Pierre Laval. When we moved into North Africa, Robert called on the people of his domains to obey Marshal Pétain and denounced Darlan for "exceeding his powers." All this we forgave. But now the Admiral has gone too far. He chides us for the unkind treatment we have meted out to Frenchmen who came over to our side in the past and makes his own switch to the United Nations dependent on a kind of De Gaulle-Giraud union which appeals to De Gaulle more than it does to Giraud. This is no doubt an uncharitable view of last week's break with Robert and the cancellation of the hard-won agreements. Actually the State Department's belated discovery of the Admiral's subservience to Vichy is a hopeful augury. Any week now we may have official word that General Franco is a Fascist.

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SWEDISH AND GERMAN RELATIONS, LONG decidedly frigid, have recently been reduced to a still lower temperature by Nazi violations of Swedish neutrality. The most serious incident has been the attack made by the armed German merchant ship Altkirch on the Swedish submarine Draken while both were in Swedish territorial waters. In the course of investigations it was discovered that German mines had been sown inside the three-mile limit and it is suspected that these may have been responsible for the unexplained disappearance of another Swedish submarine, the Ulven. A sharp note was dispatched from Stockholm on April 19 protesting against these German actions and asking for immediate steps to prevent their repetition. The German reply admitted that the Altkirch had fired on the Draken but asserted that the incident had occurred outside Swedish waters. Disclaiming all responsibility, the Nazi note declared that the Draken should not have been operating submerged and requested the Swedish government to give instructions to its submarines so as to prevent any similar occurrence. Terming this answer unsatisfactory, Stockholm retorted with a second note which included a warning that Swedish warships had been instructed to take action against any foreign ship committing belligerent acts in territorial waters. In the Swedish press there has been severe condemnation of the insolent tone of the German reply, which seems well calculated to increase the dislike of the Swedes for their government's policy of giving transit rights to Nazi soldiers on furlough from Norway. Recently several meetings of the small Swedish Nazi party have been violently disrupted. Such breaches of the well-known political decorum of the Swedes suggest that democratic patience is wearing thin.

*

MEETING IN ANNUAL SESSION, WITH AN impressive show of strength, the All-India Moslem League has come close to justifying England's wartime policy in India. The British have contended primarily that full self-government now would result in civil war, which, with Japan at the gates, is hardly to be encouraged. The stock answer of the Congress Party has been that the Moslems, with their demands for a separate nation, are merely jockeying for a good bargaining position and that, given freedom, Congress and Moslem League would quickly iron out their differences within the framework of a united country. Short of firing in the streets, the Moslems who met at New Delhi last week under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah went as far as they could go to repudiate that comfortable interpretation. Six thousand of them, including 1,200 delegates, four provincial premiers, and two members of the Viceroy's Council, listened to Jinnah heap insults on Mohandas K. Gandhi, whom he described as the worst enemy of Indian freedom. "I'm not holding any brief for this wretched British government," he told them, "but it serves no purpose to say that the British prevent an agreement." On the contrary, the real issue, according to Jinnah, is the prospective attempt by the British to force Moslems and Hindus into a common federation. Should that happen, the delegates unanimously resolved, the move "will be resisted by Moslem India with all its might, which will inevitably result in strife, bloodshed, and misery." With due allowance for the oratorical flourishes appropriate to such occasions, it is difficult to take issue with the modest conclusion of Herbert L. Matthews, reporting the session for the New York *Times*. The resolution, writes Mr. Matthews, "immensely strengthens the British contention that the peoples of India cannot seem to get together."

*

WHITEWASH, WE ARE CONVINCED, MAKES A poor cement for the United Nations; it positively invites the throwing of mud. And that we fear may be the effect of the film version of ex-Ambassador Joseph Davies's "Mission to Moscow," which, with the aid of a technically brilliant production, undertakes a complete exculpation of Soviet policies in the years just preceding the war. On the purges, the Russo-German Pact, and the first Finnish war it offers the straight party line. This may prove good propaganda for unsophisticated audiences but we suspect that it will stir up old controversies in a way that can only damage our relations with Russia. While we are allied with the Soviets in a joint struggle against aggression it is but good sense to stress the interests which bind us together rather than the ideas that divide us. But friendship can only be strained by asking Americans to give a blanket indorsement to all Soviet actions past and present. In the matter of the "purges" *The Nation* has always held that the evidence on which the alleged Trotskyist conspirators were convicted was unconvincing and the film version of the trials does nothing to change this opinion. Moreover, we note that the film takes some extraordinary liberties with recorded fact. For example, the "Radek trial" of January, 1936, and the "Bukharin trial" of March, 1936, are telescoped into one and Marshal Tukhatchevsky, who actually was not arrested and shot until June of that year, is made to appear as one of the accused. Still worse, he is given lines to speak which, properly, according to Mr. Davies's own book, belong to Muralov. This casual manipulation of history in what is, a priori, a documentary film does not inspire confidence.

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THAT IT IS MUCH TOO EARLY TO BEGIN TO talk of resuming non-essential civilian production was the main burden of the address made to the United States Chamber of Commerce last week by Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces.

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The same view was put forward at a press conference in Washington several days earlier by Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson. These two authoritative statements fully confirm the misgivings expressed in our Washington letter of two weeks ago, Relaxing Too Soon. General Somervell revealed that we do not always have enough essential cargo for our shipping and decried rumors that we have vast stocks of arms and ammunition: "The enemy could implant no more subtle propaganda in the minds of our people." The propaganda in this case is coming from circles anxious to resume "business as usual" at the expense of the war effort. "Any notion," Under Secretary Patterson said, "that the work of equipping the armed forces is nearly done, and that we can resume normal peacetime production of goods for general use, instead of equipment for the Army and Navy, shows that the people who believe that just don't understand war."

*

THE RUBBER PATENTS OFFERED ROYALTY free by Standard Oil of New Jersey were taken over by the Alien Property Custodian in March of 1942 as the enemy-owned property of I. G. Farben. The A. P. C. has neither approved nor been consulted about the current offer, and there are signs that both the Custodian and the Department of Justice are examining this gift horse. To obtain the patents, an inventor must show his own to Rubber Reserve Company, which has been Standard Oil's ally in the past. If Rubber Reserve thinks his ideas worth while, he will be allowed to take a license under Standard's patents and in return to give Standard free licenses on his own. Since Standard claims that the old I. G. Farben patents it is now offering are the basic patents of the Buna synthetic rubber field, the man who takes a license under them will be acknowledging their validity, which has yet to be tested in the courts. Once having accepted the basic patents, a rubber company will need the improvements on them and these after the war will be obtainable only on Standard's terms. Under this setup, the Buna S synthetic tire industry would become a non-competitive pool dominated by Standard Oil. Standard is not offering licenses, royalty free or otherwise, on its patents for butadiene, the raw material of buna rubber. Nor is it offering patents on butyl, a cheaper synthetic rubber which Standard is holding back as its own private ace-in-the-hole.

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THIS SUSPICIOUSLY MAGNANIMOUS OFFER by a company never before conspicuous for generosity to business rivals calls for investigation. We hope the Truman or the Kilgore committee will look into it. An inquiry is made especially important by indications that Standard would like to resume its old cartel relationship with I. G. Farben after the war. Standard management has tried to dissuade a minority stockholder group headed by William Floyd II and Amos S. Basel from offering an anti-cartel resolution in the proxy statements being sent out this year to shareholders in preparation for the annual election in June. The management has already put out "feelers" to the Justice Department for some method whereby cartels could be reestablished legally after the war is over. So far these have met with the cold shoulder they deserve. If the present "free royalty" offer is successful and later the cartel is resumed, I. G. would again dominate the American synthetic rubber industry. Under the Hague agreement of 1939, I. G. would resume a majority in the Buna patents should they be returned by the Alien Property Custodian either to I. G. or Standard. Fortunately President Roosevelt has given his word that this time we will not let patents of this kind slip back under alien influence. We look to the Alien Property Custodian to stop the current offer and honor that pledge. The A. P. C. holds title to these patents and can make them part of the public domain.

*

GRADE LABELING OF ALL PRODUCTS FOR which quality standards can be established is essential for the full protection of consumers in peacetime. In wartime it is doubly important for price ceilings cannot possibly be effective so long as they can be evaded by tampering with quality. Nevertheless after weeks of wobbling on this subject Price Administrator Prentiss Brown has ordered the elimination from OPA Order MPR-306 of a requirement that certain canned foods packed in 1943 be labeled A, B, or C according to quality. Instead, suppliers of these goods are ordered to state the grade on invoices to retailers who will then be able to pass on the information to inquisitive consumers. This move is announced as a "compromise," which is itself a fine example of misleading labeling. It gives the vested interests who have been fighting honest grading all they want but it will not and should not be accepted by the consumer organizations. Inside the OPA the fight against grade labeling was led by Dan Gerber and Norman Sorenson—both closely associated with canning companies. They have now resigned their official positions but they passed the torch to Lou B. Maxon, a Detroit advertising man brought into the OPA by Mr. Brown. His agency handles the H. J. Heinz account. Mr. Maxon has gone on record as saying that grade labeling is "a reform that should not be attempted in wartime." The best comment on this statement has been made in the official publication of the canning industry which is by no means unanimously opposed to honest labeling. "That this is a reform measure," says an editorial in the *Canning Trade*, "is absolutely true, a reform for the betterment of the whole industry and particularly for the canners."

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The Russo-Polish Wound

STALIN'S May Day declaration with its stern insistence on unconditional surrender of the Axis and its friendly references to the American and British forces should serve to dampen Nazi hopes of enlarging the breach in the United Nations opened by the quarrel between Russia and the Polish government-in-exile. Furthermore it should encourage the American and British governments to persevere in their efforts to liquidate this deplorable affair. But we should not deceive ourselves into believing that this end can be accomplished by polite diplomatic formulas, for it is a very ancient wound that Goebbels has inflamed with his propagandist poison.

If we were to attempt to outline the pathological history of this case, we would have to go back at least as far as the eighteenth century. But a rapid review of the last twenty-five years is sufficient to suggest the difficulty of any permanent cure. When Poland was resurrected in 1918 it discarded none of the illusions of grandeur which had helped to sustain it through long years of alien rule. Encouraged by western diplomacy, which sought to build up barriers against both Russia and Germany, it attempted to play the role of a great power although it had not the material equipment for the part. This led to numerous aggressive ventures such as the seizure of Vilna from Lithuania.

At home, during these years, Poland sought to graft a modern industrial economy onto a feudal base with results fatal to any growth of democracy. Behind a constitutional facade the country was ruled by a practical dictatorship in the interests of an oligarchy. And this fact helped to keep the old Polish-Russian wound open for in the eastern provinces the great landlords were mainly Polish while the peasants were Ukrainian. There was constant friction between these two elements and, at times, savage suppression of Ukrainian institutions and organizations.

It is the future of these eastern provinces which is the basic cause of the present impasse. The original border settlement between reborn Poland and the U. S. S. R. gave most of them to the latter. But Poland regained these disputed lands, with their largely non-Polish population, after defeating Russia with the aid of France in 1921. When the Russians marched into Poland in September, 1939, and negotiated a partition agreement with Hitler they proceeded to incorporate Polish Ukraine and White Russia within the Soviet Union. With its two gigantic enemies digesting its territories in apparent amity, Poland once again ceased to exist except as a cadre of officials and a small army.

The invasion of Russia by the Nazis in June, 1941, seemed to make possible a rapprochement between Poland and its old enemy. General Sikorski, head of the government-in-exile, was statesman enough to seize the opportunity. He quickly negotiated an agreement with the Soviet government which apparently left the difficult frontier question in abeyance until after the war. Meanwhile Polish prisoners in Russia were released and a Polish army organized on Russian soil with the announced purpose of helping to repel the invaders. Unhappily General Sikorski's efforts were not fully backed by his colleagues. The signing of the treaty led to a crisis in the government-in-exile and the resignation of three of its members. Thereafter reactionary elements among the émigrés—and for the most part it was the reactionaries, landlords, army officers and diplomats who had been able to escape—began an increasingly bitter propaganda campaign against Russia. General Sikorski, as Professor Oscar Lange, formerly of the University of Cracow, has pointed out in a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune,* tried to meet this situation by appeasement. He has succeeded only in inflaming the "nationalist hysteria" of the anti-Soviet agitators.

Relations between the Poles and Russians have also been embittered by certain concrete acts on the part of both governments. For instance, the Polish Army in Russia was transferred at the request of the Polish government to the Near East. The Russian government let it go but it clearly considered that it might have been better employed helping the Red Army repel the invader. Another cause of friction was the plan formulated by the Poles for a Central European Federation which, in view of the record and interests of its authors, was regarded in Moscow as an effort to construct an anti-Soviet bloc. The interest displayed in some American quarters in the idea of a *cordon sanitaire* served both to encourage the Poles and to heighten Russian suspicion.

The Kremlin, for its part, enraged the Poles by indicating plainly that it regarded the disputed eastern provinces as definitely part of the U. S. S. R. and by issuing passports to all the inhabitants of this territory exiled in Russia. Finally it committed an appalling blunder by executing Alter and Ehrlich, thus throwing Polish labor elements into the arms of the reactionaries and alienating western liberals. By this time the wound was fully ready for Goebbels's skilled attention.

In the letter already mentioned, Professor Lange makes it clear that the situation demands a new and different government-in-exile. It must be a government prepared to find a basis for good-neighborly relations with Russia, for Poland cannot hope to survive while it remains on bad terms with the two powerful nations which border it. The landlords and militarists who dominate the present government are no more capable of the mental adjustment necessary to implement such a policy than they are of giving effect to the radical political and economic program which has been formulated by the Polish underground movement. While they remain in control there can be little hope for Poland.

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Prices, Wages, and Taxes

UNLIKE John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers, organized labor as a whole has accepted the principle of President Roosevelt's hold-the-line anti-inflation order. But while accepting the necessity for over-all control, both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. are up in arms against certain features of the present controls which they hold to be inequitable. Resentment is particularly strong against the fact that under the order wages are frozen to the level of September 15, 1942, while prices have been allowed to rise well beyond that level. The situation is made even worse by the inability of the War Labor Board, under the prevailing interpretation of the order, to correct "inequities" in prevailing wage rates in face of wide variation of wages for similar work.

To meet the problem several of the C. I. O. unions have launched a campaign urging that prices be rolled back to the level of September 15, 1942, and that the War Labor Board's power to correct inequities be restored. The justice of these demands cannot be denied. Of all the groups in the population, the wage and salary workers have undoubtedly borne the heaviest burden in the national economic stabilization program. Workers are concerned primarily by the fact that their wages seem to be frozen completely, while the cost of living continues to mount despite the so-called price ceilings. If the freezing of wages is essential as an anti-inflation measure, then, labor argues, the least that the government can do is to roll back prices to the same level.

From a realistic point of view, however, the wisdom of the demand for a roll back in prices is open to serious question. There is an abundance of evidence to show that the OPA more than has its hands full trying to enforce present ceilings. The growth in black markets is not due primarily, as many people seem to believe, to any slackness in OPA enforcement. With its limited powers and staff, it has done a man-sized job, but experience with price restrictions the world over has shown that if prices are pegged too low supplies either are withheld or flow into a black market. Some of the price rises recently authorized by the OPA have been forced upon it by the threat of black market operation. A roll back in prices such as the C. I. O. suggests might be accomplished successfully with some goods, but with others it would inevitably encourage the black market with all of its attendant evils. Politically, it would be extremely difficult to achieve even in those commodities where no black market threat exists.

If prices cannot be rolled back, something must obviously be done about wages. There are various ways in which this can be done without impairing the President's hold-the-line order. Perhaps the most satisfactory approach would be through a system of guaranteed annual wages as discussed in a recent issue of *The Nation*. Another possibility is the equalization of wage rates for similar work in various sections of the country. Equal pay for equal work is a principle that cannot be violated without causing endless trouble. There is also an unassailable case for making the Little Steel formula flexible enough to cover past and future changes in the cost of living. Canada has met this problem successfully by providing for an automatic increase in wages whenever the cost-of-living index rises by 5 per cent.

The chief objection to such an orderly method of wage and price adjustment is, of course, that it leaves a loophole for inflation. As long as any element in the price-wage structure is permitted to rise, a constant upward trend is to be expected. This trend cannot, however, be checked by wage and price restrictions alone. While additional purchasing power is being created by credit expansion and war production and the supply of goods is limited by WPB restrictions, either prices will rise or goods will be driven into the black markets. In the final analysis, the only effective way of dealing with this inflationary pressure is by increased taxes and forced savings. If, as there seems every reason to believe, organized labor is really serious in its desire to get behind the President's anti-inflation program, it should throw its mass support behind a drive to force Congress to adopt the Administration's tax recommendations. A good stiff tax program, based on the principle of capacity to pay, would do more than anything else to eliminate the nightmare of rising prices and static wages.

Actual and Possible

THE National Resources Development Report for 1943 throws a good deal of light on the course of war production during the past year and on its possibilities this year. Its most interesting revelation is that, while the war production program has been scaled downward, its cost has gone up. "War expenditures," the report says, "were forecast in 1943 budget as 55 billion dollars for the fiscal year ending June, 1943. Because of speeding up of contracts and subsequent increases in cost, actual expenditures in fiscal 1943 will approximate 76 billion dollars." A much greater inflation in costs than appears at first glance is indicated by these figures. The 1942 budget estimates were based on the President's Victory Program of January, 1942. One of the largest items in that program, the total for Army supply, as revealed by our Washington editor in *The Nation* two weeks ago, was cut in half between January and November of 1942. All other programs except shipbuilding have also been reduced. Obviously armament costs have been tremendously swollen. The average increase, moderately estimated, must be at least 75 per cent.

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The increase in prices for armament and munitions, the report indicates, was far greater than for civilian goods. "Of the total expenditures of $82 billion," the report says of civilian purchases, "$10 billion was represented by payments due to higher prices." The difference in the magnitude of price increases on civilian goods, as compared with war goods, may be attributable to the fact that the OPA has had no authority whatever over arms and many of the components of arms. Included in the category of war goods on which the sky has been the limit are such crucial items as aviation gas and synthetic rubber components. Obviously a great deal of profiteering is going on and there is no indication that renegotiation of contracts is doing more than skimming the surface of the cream.

The report shows that we are still some distance from an all-out effort. The consumption of goods and services by civilians continued to rise during 1942 and did not begin to show a decline until the last quarter. We spent a third of our income on war during 1942, but in the last quarter the rate had risen to 44 per cent. Expenditures, however, as the report points out, are no real index of war production since many payments were payments in advance and prices were rising sharply. In 1942, as in 1941, we enjoyed guns *and* butter. We cannot hope to do so much longer.

The report finds that under conditions of equal distribution of foods and essential civilian goods, we could produce two and a half times as much this year as last and 42 per cent more than the highest forecast for this year. An effort of this kind would insure victory and shorten the war but is possible only under strict rationing, wise allocation of basic materials, and efficient utilization of plant and labor. These possibilities are a challenge to the capacity of business, government, and labor. Can we realize them?

Fiasco at Willow Run

BY WILLIAM H. JORDY

SO EXCITING are the blueprints for Bomber City, the war-housing development planned for Henry Ford's Willow Run bomber plant, that the restrained editors of *Architectural Forum* have described it as "the most workable and most human guide to the integrated community produced to date." But Bomber City exists only on paper. It will never be built.

There were early indications that things were not going well—surveyors' stakes pulled up and Ford's lawyers threatening to fight Bomber City "with every legal means"—but the excuse of military secrecy was invoked to avoid answering questions. Persistent rumors of a labor shortage at Willow Run have been met by persistent company claims that "the condition of labor has improved." OWI charges that no bombers were leaving the assembly line brought the retort, "Bomber output on schedule." In February the Truman committee visited Willow Run—its second trip—and there was hope that some information would be forthcoming. Newspaper reports of the visit were vague, but they did show that bomber output was far behind schedule, that the principal reason for the lag was a serious labor shortage, and that Edsel Ford, with magnificent effrontery, had implored the committee to speak to the War Manpower Commission. Another reason advanced for the small output was the necessity for changes in design. Senators were said to have gone away much impressed with the "activity" they had witnessed.

It is now more than two months since the Truman committee left Willow Run, and the Detroit *Free Press* still publishes the reasons workers give for quitting Ford's employ. On many days the Ford Company loses more labor than it hires. In addition, the absentee rate tops 7 per cent, as compared with an average of 2 to 4 per cent for all industries, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Today 35,000 are employed at Willow Run; 88,000 are needed. The secretary of the United Automobile Workers in a report to the Truman committee characterized employment of 88,000 as a "fantastic impossibility." The reason? An extreme shortage in housing and transportation facilities which the abortive Bomber City project was designed to correct.

To realize why Willow Run can obtain so little labor it is necessary to understand the plant's location. Willow Run is about four miles from Ypsilanti, a university town of 12,000 people. Ann Arbor, twelve miles away, has fewer than 30,000. Willow Run is therefore thirty miles from the nearest good-sized source of labor, namely, Detroit. Last summer, U. A. W. statistics showed that 70 per cent of Willow Run's labor commuted more than thirty miles each way every day. Or, as the Detroit worker reckons it, he loses two hours' pay daily in commuting, with the choice of driving his own car along crowded Michigan Avenue or squeezing into a painfully over-crowded bus or train and paying daily fares in excess of a dollar. With every edition of the Detroit papers carrying six to eight pages of help-wanted pleas, he can do better elsewhere.

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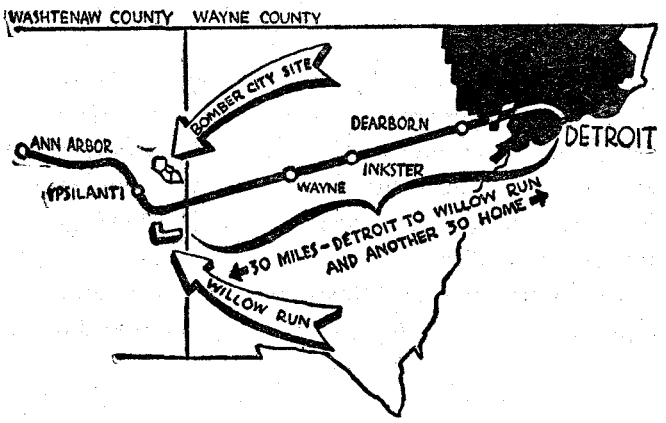
Willow Run is situated (see diagram) just within Washtenaw County, its eastern end not more than twenty-five feet from the Wayne County boundary. Ford explains this careful tailoring as an effort to simplify his tax structure and protective services; of course these benefits,



Willow Run—Close to Conservative Courts and Post-War Soy Beans, but Far from Labor.

plus added accessibility to labor, could have been obtained by locating the plant entirely within Wayne County. But the Washtenaw site has other advantages. In the first place, he has been steadily acquiring land in Washtenaw County for soy-bean cultivation after the war. It is to his advantage to have amid his bean rows a government-financed factory which can later be converted to the manufacture of plastic planes. Secondly, as the largest landowner in a predominantly rural county, Ford dominates Washtenaw politics and thereby enjoys judicial sanction for his anti-labor practices, which would not be the case in labor-dominated Wayne County. Thirdly, by forcing his workers to travel long distances he makes labor organization extremely difficult.

The government yielded to Ford's preference as to location, in what was to prove the first in a whole series of appeasements. The choice was made before Pearl Harbor, when few thought about gasoline and tires. After we had entered the war, the War Production Board surveyed the site with misgivings. Having made the initial mistake, the government tried to rectify it by authorizing the Federal Public Housing Authority to erect a town about three miles from the plant to accommodate 32,000 residents who would depend upon the immense factory for their livelihood after the war.

Apparently, the thought of 32,000 potential union members blighting his garden paradise worried Ford, and he proceeded at once to undermine the project. First he attempted to arrange extensive transportation to Willow Run to obviate the necessity for Bomber City, but, because of already insuperable transportation difficulties within the Detroit area, he met with little success. Next he announced that there was no water on the proposed site, but soon afterward the first well was dug. Then occurred the much-publicized stake-pulling where a corner of Bomber City encroached on his land.

In alliance with local political, banking, and real-estate interests, Ford clamored for a Congressional investigation, and all plans were suspended for weeks last summer while the Truman committee held its first hearings. Ford's lawyers introduced the bogy of a "ghost town"—perhaps the Ford Company would abandon Willow Run after the war—though earlier Ford himself had boasted: "When the war is over we are going to retain the building . . . and construct airplanes on a mass-production scale." At the same time Washtenaw's Republican politicians speedily conjured up a population for the potential "ghost town": "the flotsam and jetsam of humanity . . . a source of public attention both as to law enforcement, social work, and public assistance." Finally, the Detroit realtors, piously deploring the needless extension of sewer lines, offered to erect houses on their lots, where public-utilities lines were already at hand. Conveniently ignoring the existing housing shortage in the Detroit area—estimated to reach 12,000 units by next summer—the distance from the plant, and the undesirability of most of the available lots for residential purposes, they bolstered their arguments with the appeal, "Every home sold to a war worker gives him a stake in the America we are fighting to preserve."

Largely as a result of the Truman investigation, plans for Bomber City shrank from 6,000 permanent dwellings to 2,500. This tapering would save critical materials and comply with downward revisions in labor requirements made by the Ford Company. Still dissatisfied, however, and thwarted in its attempts to shelve all plans for Bomber City, the Ford alliance proceeded to agitate for 2,500 temporary houses, to be demolished after the war.

Meanwhile the FPHA continued work on what has justifiably been heralded as America's best town planning to date. As originally designed for 6,000 families, Bomber City would have comprised a town center surrounded by five neighborhood subtowns, each with 1,200 dwellings. The reduced plan called for a town center and three subtowns of 700 dwellings each. Developed according to the ideas of Clarence Perry of the Russell Sage Foundation, each subtown was planned to support a centrally located public school, which would serve for all community purposes during the war. Other community buildings and shops were to be erected later, so that the subtowns would eventually become self-contained units. In contrast both to the inflexibility of a gridiron pattern and to the haphazard ribbon roadways of the usual high-priced suburban development, small lanes within the subtowns were arranged so as to provide informal yet sociable groupings of individual families. These lanes were subordinate to circulating roads which brought the subtowns together and provided direct and safe routes to the town center. The center was to contain a shopping district, municipal buildings, a clinic, a high school, and a bus terminal, all facing a central prome-

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nade, with parking areas behind. A mile-wide green belt, surrounding and infiltrating the town, emphasized the spacious conception which inspired all the planning.

Contracts for the subtowns were awarded to three outstanding progressive architectural firms. Eliel Saarinen, the brilliant Finnish modernist, was to plan the town center. The United Automobile Workers, whose housing committee has been one of the most farsighted planning agencies in Detroit, was appointed consultant.

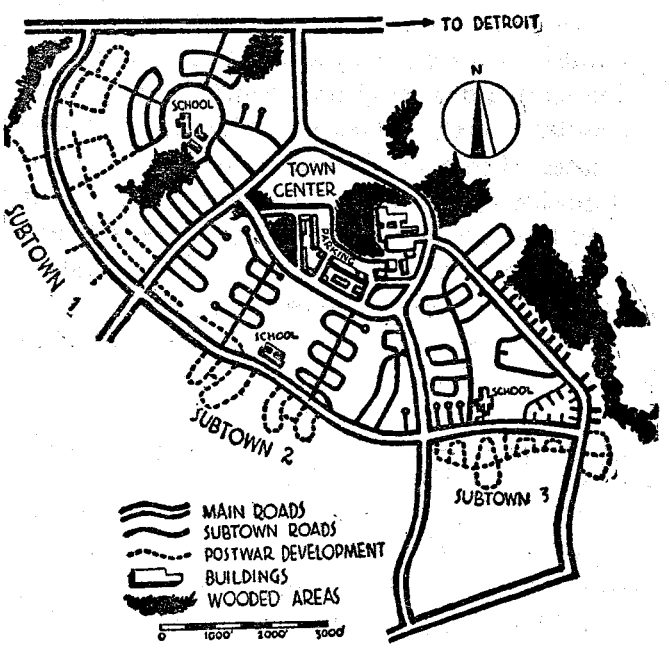
By September, 1942, FPHA engineers had prepared the sites and laid out the roadway system, and architects had designed the subtowns. Everything was ready for erection. Then—word from Washington that there would be no Bomber City after all. The 2,500 permanent units suddenly were to be 2,500 temporary units.

Precisely what happened at this point is known only to those directly involved. But it is certain that the opponents of Bomber City had been gaining influence in Washington, particularly since the National Housing Agency shifted its favor to temporary rather than permanent dwellings in order to halve both the time required for building and the consumption of critical materials. Faced with being labeled "unpatriotic," and fearful that no housing at all would be erected, the U. A. W., which had been the only organized group in Detroit consistently favoring a permanent city at Willow Run, abruptly switched to the official view. In doing so it knocked the last prop from Bomber City, sending thousands of dollars' worth of planning down the skids which private interests had so long been greasing.

Has the shift to temporary housing actually saved time? Despite the fact that standard plans, used for housing projects all over the country, are now to be used at Willow Run, more than six months have elapsed since the decision, and building has only now been started. Has it saved materials? Very little. Because sewer, electric, and telephone lines require large amounts of critical materials, temporary housing erected near already existing facilities *does* conserve materials; but even temporary housing at Bomber City necessitates an extensive new utility system. Moreover, permanent buildings could have been erected, as is being done in many localities, with the installation of fixtures requiring critical materials postponed until after the war. In any case, the few tons of critical materials that might be gained for bombers by leaving Bomber City unbuilt are far more than offset by the loss of thousands of equally critical workers who refuse to travel to Willow Run.

Today a skeleton of partially completed, muddy roadways remains as Bomber City's only memorial. In one corner of the site are 3,000 crudely furnished temporary dormitory units for single workers, with 2,000 more planned. The 2,500 temporary family units, to be squeezed into one of the subtown sites originally planned for 1,200 units, will not be ready before midsummer. About 2,000 trailers for childless couples—900 now ready, and the rest promised within two months—will complete Bomber City. Meanwhile, realtors are hacking the open land around Ypsilanti, Wayne, and Inkster into tiny plots on which "minimal-standard" houses—the only kind permitted by the WPB—are being erected. Well-planned permanent housing by the government would have been unpatriotic; these substandard *permanent* houses, which will blight Michigan communities long after the war, presumably represent the apogee of the American Way.

At best this makeshift housing will afford minimal living requirements for the 30,000 people now working at the plant, though both the union and the Army Air Corps predict 88,000 will be needed, and even Ford's estimates are pegged at 58,000. The Manpower Commission expects that one-third of these people will find quarters in nearby towns, but the Detroit housing shortage is already serious, and a survey by the Detroit *Free Press* unearthed no more than 300 vacancies in Ann Arbor. The town council of Grosse Pointe, a swank Detroit suburb, recently informed a woman that she was



Bomber City—Designed for Living. It Will Never Be Built.

violating a local law by renting rooms to war workers, and ordered her to evict them. The council was upheld by most of the residents.

The worst of the story is that even the meager federal projects now being planned will literally be islands in a sea of tarpaper shacks, tents, and trailers, with some families living underground in abandoned foundations covered by temporary roofs. Bomber City's sewer system is fairly adequate, and its water supply is pure, but the federal townsite is encircled by thousands of unapproved privies and shallow wells. Dysentery is rife,

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and the Washtenaw Board of Health warns against a typhoid epidemic. The forty-bed hospital in Ypsilanti is pitifully inadequate. Schools are so overcrowded that they offer three hours of classes a day in three shifts, and government-built schools and nurseries will not be available before September; as a result delinquency is increasing at an alarming rate. There is no shopping center, no recreational facilities—and gasoline rationing keeps workers tied to their desolate quarters. Small wonder that Ford loses workers as fast as he takes them on; small wonder that Ford agents are desperately inveigling single women workers from points as far away as New York and Texas.

The U. A. W. has suggested to the Truman committee five palliatives: (1) Along with an immediate expansion of the present housing program, the entire area around Willow Run should be commandeered for war workers, and all houses standing vacant for sale should be rented for the duration. (2) Willow Run should subcontract to available plant space in Detroit, Flint, and Pontiac. (3) The Ford Company should abandon its discrimination against hiring Negro women—hundreds being available in the Ypsilanti area. (4) Shuttle train service should be established between Detroit and Willow Run. (5) Perhaps most important, the government should immediately set up a federal agency with uniform control over housing, health, recreation, and education within the area.

This program, far from being a cure, is merely the least salvage operation to which the American people are entitled. The production which has been lost—and is yet to be lost—can be measured only in reference to the battlefield, wherever another bomber would have brought us just that much closer to victory.

Myths Can Wreck the Peace

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

DURING the past two or three years a great deal of work has been done in Washington and elsewhere preparatory to laying the foundations of the post-war world. Some of the results may be seen in both the domestic and the international field, and their significance should not be minimized. Yet despite all this valuable spade work, the American people are clearly not ready for peace. Technically, we have made much progress. Our experts have the knowledge that should enable us to avoid the blunders of 1919. But no scheme worked out by the experts, however sound in theory, can succeed without the backing of American public opinion. And on the basis of such samplings of public opinion as have been made, the conclusion is inescapable that the American people are still unprepared to support any scheme that goes far enough to be likely to bring about lasting peace.

Three prominent, exceptionally well-informed Americans from three widely separated sections of the country were recently asked to tell what the people of their regions thought about post-war reconstruction. Despite sectional differences, their accounts disclosed little disagreement on fundamentals. Apparently most Americans are prepared to have the United States exercise some responsibility in international affairs, and most of them recognize that we must cooperate more effectively for peace than we did before the war. But all three observers testified to the fact, as one stated it, that there is "almost no understanding of the economic implications of an effective international organization." All the evidence indicates a tremendous gap between the plans being worked out by the experts and the views of the man in the street. This gap should be a matter of grave concern. In some respects American public opinion is not even so advanced as it was in 1918. It has no concrete symbol around which it can rally such as it had after the last war. Most of us have forgotten how popular the League idea was at that time. Headed by ex-President William Howard Taft, the League to Enforce Peace succeeded in getting a great deal of support for a league that would prevent war. It enlisted some 350,000 volunteer speakers and persuaded twenty-six state legislatures and hundreds of chambers of commerce to back the idea. Yet America rejected the League of Nations in 1920.

Nor does America today appear willing to make the concessions in national sovereignty that must be made before an international organization can be expected to succeed. This reluctance is not due to any lack of vision or courage on the part of our leaders. Both President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace fully understand the need for American initiative in planning for the period that lies ahead. But after the last war we also had a President with courage and understanding. Woodrow Wilson failed, not through lack of imagination or leadership, but because American public opinion was not really behind him.

Many more people are giving thought to post-war problems now than in those years. There is a good deal of recognition of the seriousness of the situation. But there is also confusion, uncertainty, misunderstanding.

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This confusion in the mind of the public is due partly to lack of information and partly to persisting pre-war prejudices. There is a dusty jumble of myths and bugaboos that must be cleared away before our statesmen can make a frontal attack on post-war problems.

One of the most stubborn misconceptions is that Uncle Sam is a benevolent simpleton in a world of smooth shysters plotting to take advantage of him at every turn. Perhaps some historical basis for this view exists; before the war of 1812 the young republic of the United States had substantial difficulty in making the European powers respect its rights. But it is hard to recall any occasion in the last century on which the United States was outsmarted by a foreign country. On the other hand, many instances could be cited of our being led through fear of the "wily foreigner" to adopt policies which hurt us more than anyone else.

Far more dangerous than this vague distrust of foreigners, which has its counterpart in every nation, are the prejudices that have developed regarding our three great allies—Great Britain, China, and Russia. Suspicion of "perfidious Albion" is deep-seated in this country. To some extent it is semi-rational in that it is nourished by our large population of Irish descent. But a great deal of it apparently rests on nothing better than the biased treatment of the Revolutionary War in many of our school textbooks.

Strangely enough, we seem to feel more friendly toward China at the moment than toward either England or Russia. But underneath this superficial friendliness the myth of the "yellow peril" persists and is applied to the Chinese as well as to the Japanese. Not only are the Chinese subject to the same humiliating restrictions with regard to immigration as the Japanese, but before the war they actually faced greater obstacles in seeking entry to this country. Recent efforts to have the immigration laws eased as a gesture of United Nations solidarity have run up against a stone wall of opposition in Congress.

Suspicion of Russia is of course extremely widespread. It stands as the most serious obstacle to the creation of an all-out United Nations war strategy and to the immediate formulation of post-war plans for the world. The sources of this feeling are complex. Undoubtedly it is in part the outgrowth of a systematic campaign of misrepresentation long carried on by people who regarded communism as a threat to their status in life. But the Soviet government itself contributed to this suspicion by making it difficult for newspapermen and scholars to obtain undoctored and complete information on many aspects of Soviet life. For a long period after the revolution few newspapers maintained regular correspondents in the Soviet Union itself. The men who were supposed to cover Russia were stationed in Riga and Warsaw, and these cities became regular rumor factories, turning out a never-ending succession of stories of starvation, revolts, and massacres—stories that were usually either gross exaggerations or sheer fabrications. These tales have left a mark on American thinking that makes post-war cooperation difficult.

With a view to dividing the Allies, the Nazis have sought to perpetuate old misunderstandings and to create new ones. We have all heard whispers to the effect that the British were holding back; that China was ready to make a deal with Japan; that Russia was either too weak to hold out against Hitler and would end by making peace with the Axis, or that it was getting too strong and might overrun Europe. If stories of this sort can circulate when our very lives depend on the strength and unity of the United Nations, what can we expect after the struggle has been won and the danger removed?

Some of the myths which have influenced our thinking are not truly myths at all; they are lies that have been consciously perpetrated for political purposes. But they are really no more dangerous than the outworn economic ideas which most of us carry around as excess baggage. These ideas are not the result of foreign machinations. They are good old American ideas which many of us have had all of our lives. The grandfather of them all is the assumption that our prosperity as a nation depends on gold. This seems like a harmless enough idea, but because we allowed it to dominate our thinking in the 1920's we have nearly three-fourths of the world's gold supply stored away today at Fort Knox and elsewhere. The fact that this gold is completely useless to us unless we wish to exchange it for goods—which we don't—is immaterial. What really matters is that our lust for gold forced every nation in the world off the gold standard and contributed materially to the spread of economic nationalism that culminated in Nazi aggression and World War II.

A companion belief to faith in the mystic properties of gold is the widespread conviction that our national well-being depends on selling more than we buy abroad. This was true as long as the United States was a debtor country. But after World War I this country ceased to be a debtor and became one of the world's two great creditor nations. The inevitable result of our refusal to buy increased amounts of the goods and services of other countries was the collapse of their ability to pay their debts and to buy American goods.

Secretary Hull endeavored to break the log jam of trade restrictions by his reciprocal-trade program. But his efforts uncovered another queer kink in our thinking that may give us no end of trouble when we tackle the problems of reconstruction after the war. We seem to have the notion that trade concessions to other countries are a sign of weakness and that we have somehow scored a victory when we force other countries to make greater

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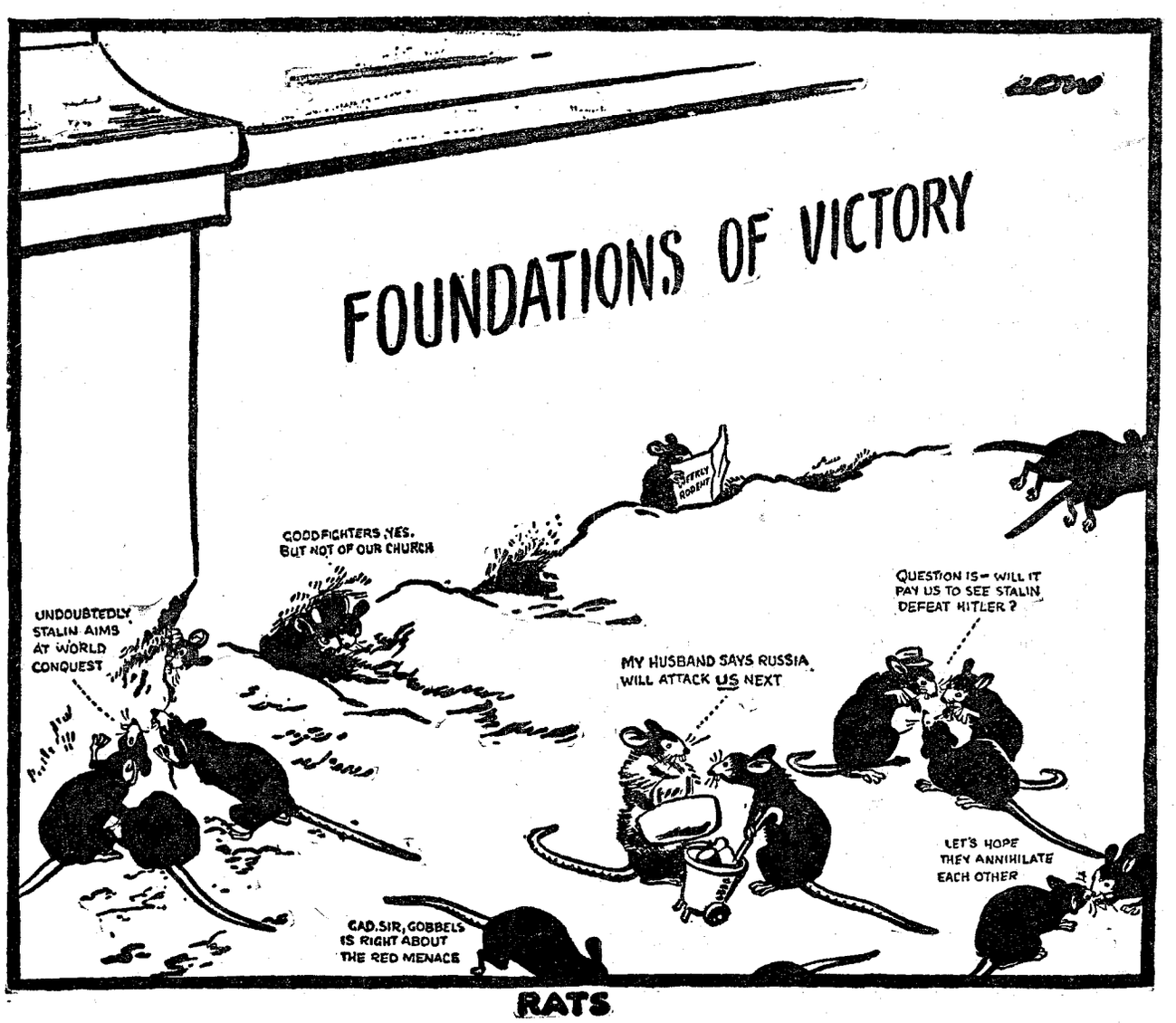
concessions than we are willing to grant ourselves. This idea is probably an outgrowth of the belief that all foreign nations are constantly trying to put something over on Uncle Sam. Also many Americans like to think of trade negotiations as a game in which the object is to pile up a score against the opponent. Anyone who tries to point out that the real purpose of negotiation is to increase trade is spoiling the fun. He risks the kind of abuse that would be heaped on a Brooklyn umpire who called a game in the last of the ninth, with the home team up, the bases full, none out, and the Dodgers trailing by one run. This misplaced sporting concept affects more than just trade negotiations. It crops up whenever the terms of an international agreement are announced. The latest example may be found in the press commentary on the relative merits of the Keynes and the American plan for currency stabilization.

Another, somewhat more subtle, form of this same idea is the assumption that we shall be the losers if we advance large sums of money for reconstruction in Europe and Africa without demanding full repayment. This seems so obvious to most people that few even stop to give it a second thought. Yet economists have repeatedly pointed out that it was the demand for repayment of money owed us rather than the money advanced that brought on the great depression of 1929. It is an interesting paradox that the three periods in which the United States has prospered most, 1915-19, 1924-29, and 1939-42, were in each instance periods in which we were shipping abroad vast quantities of goods for which payment was never and will never be received. The key to that paradox lies in the fact that a large part of our industry and agriculture is geared to export trade. During the 20's our exports were supported by large-scale foreign investments. More recently they have been supported by the government—which means the taxpayers. But the country as a whole is better off, regardless of ultimate repayment, because millions of jobs have been created. There is a limit, of course, to the amount of supplies that we can ship abroad wihout sacrifice by our own population. That limit has been reached during war, but it has never been reached in peace time. We have never succeeded in even approaching full employment without a large export trade.


FOUNDATIONS OF VICTORY
GOOD FIGHTERS YES, BUT NOT OF OUR CHURCH
UNDOUBTEDLY STALIN AIMS AT WORLD CONQUEST
MY HUSBAND SAYS RUSSIA WILL ATTACK US NEXT
QUESTION IS— WILL IT PAY US TO SEE STALIN DEFEAT HITLER?
LET'S HOPE THEY ANNIHILATE EACH OTHER
GAD, SIR, GOBBELS IS RIGHT ABOUT THE RED MENACE
RATS

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Nearly all the foregoing kinks are present in our thinking because our minds are still largely conditioned by the world as it existed before the last war. Sociologists have pointed out that it usually takes the better part of a generation for ideas to catch up with a sudden change in circumstances, and they regard this "cultural lag" as inevitable. Unfortunately, the cultural lag in this case seems unduly prolonged. A new generation has grown up since 1918, and its thinking, generally speaking, is not much better adjusted to the responsibilities of American leadership than that of the older generation. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the American people were ever more hardened against some forms of international cooperation than they are today. As individuals Americans respond favorably to the idea of international collaboration, either in the political or the economic sphere, but there has always been powerful group opposition to specific proposals for furthering that cooperation. The soil in which such opposition flourishes has been prepared by our press, a large portion of which, including daily newspapers and weekly magazines, has deliberately sought through the years to confuse public opinion on essentials of our foreign policy.

There is no necessity for designating the papers and magazines that have consistently distorted news and resorted to shameless flag-waving in order to influence public opinion on vital international issues. At least four of the country's largest newspaper chains have indulged in such practices, together with at least two weeklies of huge circulation. Although this highly organized press has thrice failed to swing a Presidential election, its ability to befog popular thinking on relatively technical matters is beyond dispute. And it seems to be still powerful, despite Pearl Harbor and despite repeated disclosures of the deadly parallel between the war-time editorial policies of some of these papers and the Nazi propaganda line as revealed in the short-wave broadcasts from Berlin.

No one can say exactly what obligations the United States will have to assume after this war. But it is clear that they will be much heavier than any we were willing to assume in 1919. If World War III is to be prevented, some form of international organization will have to be set up. If it is to succeed, the United States must not only join but assume a position of leadership proportionate to its financial, military, and commercial strength. The heads of both parties are prepared to accept the responsibility. But they risk the same repudiation that the leadership of Wilson and Taft met with a quarter of a century ago unless the pre-1914 cobwebs in American thinking can be cleared away.

[*This is the first of a number of articles planned to explore the fundamental problems of the peace. In coming issues Mr. Stewart will develop his ideas on international reconstruction, and Stuart Chase will examine the economic problems that lie in wait for us.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

MR. BROWNING'S letter to a London evening journal, informing it that Mrs. Browning's father was not a "retired merchant," but, on the contrary, was a "private gentleman," has called out among us some comments not wholly favorable to the writer. . . . We may well enough concede that our fine clay is clay. . . . But it is to be thought of, too, that everything relative to Mrs. Browning is matter of literary history. . . . A mistake of fact was to be corrected. —*May 7, 1868.*

THE CHICAGO *TRIBUNE* . . . upholds extreme Radical opinions with logic, decency, moderation, and thoughtfulness, and proves that yelling, hallooing, extravagance, and vituperation are not necessary either to pecuniary success or great influence.—*May 14, 1868.*

GOOD NEWS for the boys: "Ragged Dick; or, Street Life in New York with the Bootblacks," by Horatio Alger, Jr., is for sale this morning. . . . Price $1.25. (Advt.)—*May 14, 1868.*

ABOUT THE ONLY THING accomplished by Congress in the past week has been the passage by the House of the joint resolution restoring [to statehood] North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, . . . after one day's debate, by 108 to 35.—*May 21, 1868.*

THE IMPEACHMENT [of President Andrew Johnson] ended—we presume it is safe to say so—on Saturday, in the defeat of the eleventh article by a vote of 19 to 35. The eleventh article was considered the strongest, and was therefore submitted first as a test. . . . This vote is generally considered as settling the fate of impeachment, although the court has only adjourned until the 26th . . ., and the other articles are still pending.—*May 21, 1868.*

THE MAJORITY of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs have reported in favor of the appropriation to pay for Aliaska. . . . The minority of the committee have also reported, alleging that . . . Aliaska is a worthless and troublesome acquisition.—*May 21, 1868.*

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION has met, and the nomination of Grant seems, at this writing, a foregone conclusion. —*May 21, 1868.*

ISSUED THIS DAY, the June number of *Lippincott's Magazine.* . . . This number contains a new poem, of 324 lines, by Algernon Charles Swinburne. (Advt.)—*May 21, 1868.*

THE NEWS from Germany indicates increasing uneasiness in the relations between Prussia and France. . . . Bismarck begins to be suspected . . . of desiring to goad France into taking the initiative in hostilities by marked manifestations of affection for Italy.—*May 28, 1868.*

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The FCC Holds Fast

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 30

THE Federal Communications Commission, though by the narrow margin of four votes to three, has decided to defy the Kerr committee. It is important that the basis of the commission's action be thoroughly understood. Under Section 9-a of the Hatch Act, the commission, like all federal agencies, is forbidden to employ persons holding "membership in any political party or orgazination which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States." The appropriation acts of 1942 and 1943 reinforce this by barring from public office "any person who advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence." Under the law, however, the responsibility for enforcing these statutes and for finally determining the qualifications of employees rests with the commission, as with other federal agencies.

The Kerr committee, a special subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, was set up to check the findings of the Dies committee. The first three cases on which the Kerr committee passed were those of FCC employees. On one, though negatively and as though reluctantly, it returned a verdict of acquittal. In the case of Frederick L. Schuman it found there was not sufficient evidence "to support a recommendation of unfitness to service in the employment of the government at this time." In the case of Goodwin Watson and William E. Dodd, Jr., the finding was "unfit for the present to continue in government service." But this is not the standard set by the law. "Nowhere," the Federal Communications Commissions points out, "does the subcommittee report charge that these employees 'have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government,' . . . nor does the subcommittee report find that any of them 'advocates, or . . . is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence.' Nor does the subcommittee report set forth any other reason in law, in fairness, or arising out of the exigencies of the present war for the dismissal of these employees at this time."

The Kerr committee did, indeed, lay down its own law, centering around its own definitions of "subversive activity." "Subversive activity in this country," it said, "derives from conduct intentionally destructive of or inimical to the government of the United States—that which seeks to undermine its institutions, or to distort its functions, or to impede its projects, or to lessen its efforts, the ultimate end being to overturn it all. Such activity may be open and direct as by effort to overthrow, or subtle and indirect as by sabotage." But the Kerr committee fails to meet its own comfortably broad standard. "The general comments contained in the subcommittee's report," the commission's ruling states, "fail to specify wherein Watson and Dodd have run afoul of this definition, or wherein Schuman has avoided its bans. Was Watson's and Dodd's conduct '*destructive* . . . or was it on the other hand *inimical* to the government. . . '? Did they 'seek to undermine its institutions'? Or did they seek to 'distort its functions'? Was their activity 'open and direct. . . '? Or was it on the contrary 'subtle and indirect. . .'? No answer to these questions is afforded by the subcommittee."

The most specific finding made by the Kerr committee was that Watson had "for several years past . . . associated himself on many and frequent occasions with men . . . whose aims and purposes were subversive to this government, and has associated with men who advocated the overthrow of this government." But the commission complains that "these men are nowhere named, nor is his relation to them stated." The Kerr committee seems to have gone several steps farther than the Dies committee in the direction of star-chamber procedure. "We have been unable," the FCC reports, "to determine with any precision the grounds for the subcommittee's findings. Our general counsel was directed to attend the hearings before the subcommittee as an observer for the commission; but permission to attend was refused him by the subcommittee."

Watson, Schuman, and Dodd are employed in the commission's Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service. Their reports, as the commission points out, "come under the daily scrutiny . . . of responsible officials of Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, Office of Strategic Services, State Department, OWI, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, BEW, Lend-Lease, Department of Justice, etc. It is inconceivable that any bias, distortion or subversion could escape the attention of these agencies." The FCC, on the contrary, brings forward letters of commendation from Military Intelligence, Nelson Rockefeller, the OSS, and the War Shipping Administration, which testify to the good work of these men.

That this is so is not surprising, for all three are men of ability, strongly anti-fascist, and genuinely devoted. The anti-fascism which makes them suspect to political

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cretins and unpopular with proto-fascists is of course one source of their usefulness. "All three," as the commission points out, "by reason of their close contact and exhaustive study of world affairs, perceived earlier than many of their countrymen the rising menace of the Nazis, Fascists, and Japanese. Spurred on by this insight, they sought by speech, by writing, and by cooperation with others working toward similar ends to awaken their countrymen to the peril which became manifest to all Americans at Pearl Harbor." Their only crime is that they were "farsighted and aggressive in opposing Nazism and Fascism."

For some time, perhaps more out of fear of a rabid minority than out of conviction, Congress has been carrying on this kind of war against anti-fascists. The result, by inverse selection, has been to cull from government those who feel most deeply about the basic issues of the war and are therefore prepared to work hardest for it. The policy of retreat before these attacks has only encouraged reaction. Last year, when the office of Facts and Figures let Malcolm Cowley resign, it strengthened Dies. The effect of Vice-President Wallace's vigorous attack upon the Dies committee last April was spoiled when Milo Perkins forced the resignations of C. Hartley Grattan and Maurice Parmelee, thus by implication admitting charges the Vice-President had refuted. Men of decency and good-will could have been mobilized at that time in Congress; they would have defended the BEW if the BEW had defended itself. They can be appealed to again. The FCC by standing up courageously to reaction has provided a strong point around which the wavering can be rallied. A victory for the FCC would help clear the air of the capital, which has become noxious and unhealthy. Progressive officials have grown afraid, and try to hire men without political pasts, which often means without political convictions. These do not make the most militant anti-fascists. The fight to back the FCC is a fight to invigorate the war effort.

North African Triangle

BY CLAUDE McKAY

AS SOON as you reach North Africa, if your eyes and perceptions are good, you are aware of the struggle for a living among three clearly defined groups—Christian, Jew, Moslem. But you also observe that the struggle has reached a certain balance, with each group held within its limits.

The Moslem natives form the largest group, but in the modern social and political set-up in North Africa they have been pushed down to the bottom. They are in the position of a subject people, with no voice in the affairs of state. The Europeans declare that the Moslems are naturally medieval-minded and backward, that they are in their present position because they refused to accept the French civil code, and that the real reason for their refusal was their polygamy. But to accept the French civil code a Moslem would have to abure not only polygamy but the main tenets of his religion. Moreover, about three-fourths of the North African native population consists of peasants, shepherds, and hired workers so poverty-stricken that a man can barely afford one wife. Even the new middle class of native functionaries created by the French, who have been educated in the Franco-Arab schools, cannot maintain more than one wife decently. The Moslem wife is an expensive luxury. She can do no outside work to help her husband as the Christian and Jewish women can, and when the Moslem marries he must pay a good sum, the amount dependent on his means, to the parents of the bride. Only the very wealthy —pashas, caids, cadis, and other notables—can indulge in polygamy.

It is not polygamy that hinders the North African native from adopting the French civil code but his whole way of life, which is an integral, perhaps the most important, part of his religion. In a Moslem country you are born a Moslem and remain one all your life even if you never enter a mosque. Your birth and marriage, divorce and death are recorded under Koranic law. Your property is regulated according to the laws of the Koran. (Moslems think that their own code is superior to the French in some respects: for example, when a Moslem woman marries, she retains control over her own property, as the Frenchwoman does not.)

The Moslems have remained imprisoned behind the ancient social-economic-religious system of Islam. And though they groan and complain of oppression in their medieval prison, they seem to prefer it to the modern way of life. Banking is the mainstay of modern society, but no true Moslem can operate a bank and charge interest. He will, however, place his money in a Christian or Jewish bank and accept the interest paid on it. In North Africa the French have built new towns of striking neo-Moorish architecture. But Moslems do not live in them, although some of the wealthy ones own houses in the new towns. It is not merely that houses in the inacces-

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sible and mysterious native quarters are cheaper; custom also holds the Moslems in their antique setting. Because the Moslem wife, except on special occasions, cannot go outdoors, she practically lives on the roof top. There in the daytime she lolls unveiled and visits with other women across the roofs. During those hours no man may go up to the roof or even look up from the street.

All Jews in North Africa have the status of Europeans. Under the French regime they have been so rapidly Europeanized—the Cremieux decrees conferred French citizenship on all Algerian Jews as far back as 1870—that their way of life is closer to the European pattern than is that of many Spanish and Portuguese immigrants. Jews throughout North Africa wear only European clothes. Their schooling is so thoroughly European that many of the younger generation do not know the Arabic language. No casual observer can tell them from the Spanish and French.

The French writer Henry de Montherlant said some years ago that Jews were the torch-bearers of European civilization in North Africa. Certainly they are the modern ferment in North African life. As a group they appear to be more in harmony with their environment than other Europeans. No one knows how many Jews there are in Algeria since they have not been counted as such for many generations, but it is known that they outnumber the French and other Europeans, as they do in Tunisia and Morocco.

In competition with Europeans, the Jews have pushed steadily ahead. They have in their favor a close-knit community life and a knowledge of Arabic. Also they have an understanding of the character of the Moslems, which the French apparently lack. And because the Jews know the needs of the Moslems and are familiar with their way of trading, the Moslems prefer to trade with the Jews. The Jews are the middlemen, par excellence, of North Africa. With the desperate crisis of French finance at the beginning of the nineteen thirties, the competition between Frenchmen and Jews became acute.

Since North African production is in the hands of big business using cheap native labor, it undersold on the French market the production of the French peasantry. Governments rose and fell in Paris, but all agreed that Frenchmen must be protected from the threat of cheap African importations. A cartel plan was set up for the French colonies, and North Africa was required to supply commodities to France on the quota system. Goods piled up in the warehouses of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco—wheat and barley corn and wine.

In their predicament the North African French vented their wrath on the left parties in the French parliament and on the Jews. Many openly declared that the mass naturalization of Jews in Algeria had been a capital mistake and that a quota system should be applied to Jews in the professions.

In North Africa the French mentality is conservative to the point of reaction. A visitor to the colonies gets the impression that it is there that the powerful rightist tendency in the French nation is most securely intrenched. The spirit of free criticism which used to exert its influence over the press, the theater, and all intellectual life in France has been absent. In extenuation of the French colonists it should be said that as rulers and large-scale exploiters they must constantly consider the native population, whose dominant class has a feudal outlook on life and holds ideas incomprehensible to the modern mind.

During the economic crisis of the nineteen thirties the native North Africans were stirred for the first time by agitation for social reform. This was not an independence movement, but an attempt to get the natives a better deal within the framework of the French administration. Its leaders were mainly young North Africans who had been educated in France. They were aided by their co-religionists in France, thousands of whom had settled there after the First World War. These Moslems in France had joined the Radical Socialist or the Socialist Party. Hence the efforts of the French civil and military authorities in North Africa to suppress the movement were nullified by the support given to it by the leftists in France. Though they possessed no organized power in North Africa, the left parties could bring pressure on the French government to compel the North African administrations to permit legal propaganda and a free native press. Simultaneously a movement was started for closer relations between Jewish and Moslem youth; Jewish opinion was always moderate or leftist, because the privileges the Jews had acquired in North Africa were won with the help of liberal elements in France. This faint portent of a political understanding between Moslems and Jews infuriated the French colonists even more than the growing native movement, which the French press was inclined to treat with amused condescension.

Strangely enough, just at this time a wave of unfortunate incidents between Moslems and Jews spread all over North Africa. Arab hoodlums attacked Jews on the street, usually singling out wealthy and prominent men. The attacks were generally attributed to Nazi propaganda, but the Moslem leaders denied this and said they were instigated by members of the Croix de Feu and the Camelots du Roy. In fact, the native press published the sensational news that in some instances French officers were actually discovered inciting the Moslem rabble to riot against the Jews.

In Spanish North Africa, where the Jews and Moslems have remarkably cordial relations, the peace was not disturbed. When news of the violence between Moslems and Jews in French North Africa reached the Spanish Republican administration in Tetuan, it issued a proclamation calling upon both peoples to remember

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their long association and to respect each other's rights and customs. This proclamation was read in the mosques and synagogues, prominently affixed to walls, and published in the Spanish newspapers. But it was not reported in any French newspaper. It was printed only by the radical native newspaper *l'Action Marocaine*.

Even the reactionary Spanish monarchy was more liberal toward the subject natives than the French Republic. The Spanish regime permitted nationalist publications from Egypt and Syria to enter the country; the French barred them. It allowed the natives some semblance of freedom of speech, which was denied in the French zone. The Spanish permitted circulation of the native Hassani silver money; the French compelled the use of paper money which was often in a state of fluctuation. Even the Spanish Catholic church enjoys more prestige than the French Catholic church among the Moslems. Out of the wisdom of long experience or perhaps because of their Spanish national pride, Spanish priests show no desire to proselytize Moslems.

The French clergy has been accused by the Moslems of exercising religious influence through the administration. Whether this is true or not, the most serious crisis in French-Moslem relations occurred in the nineteen thirties when the French Moroccan administration promulgated the *Dahir Berbère*. For some reason which remains obscure to the neutral observer, the French desired to bring the Berbers living in the Souss and beyond the Atlas Mountains under the French civil code and eventually to make citizens of them. The Berbers are monogamists, their women go unveiled, and their local councils are not strictly based on Koranic law. So the French sought to detach the Berbers from the Arabs by forbidding Moslem teachers and preachers to penetrate into the interior. Not only North Africa but the entire Moslem world protested against the French decree. To demonstrate solidarity with the rude Berbers the young agitators discarded the red fez and silk burnoose for the coarse woolen burnoose and turban of the Berbers. Their organs carried on an incessant campaign against the new law, and they were supported by the publications of their leftist friends in France. The Spaniards too rallied to the side of the Moslems and declared that Morocco possessed a spiritual unity which the nations should respect.

As relations between the conservative North African administrations and the native leaders drifted from bad to worse, France itself turned more sharply to the left. When Spain installed a republican government, the natives rejoiced, but the French colonists were cold to the new turn of events. By the time the Popular Front government came to power in France, military and colonial opinion in North Africa was belligerently opposed to it. The North African militarists not only threatened to march to the aid of General Franco; they ordered the Popular Front government to cease its support of the native propagandists and consent to the dissolution of their organizations in North Africa. Finally, just before the government fell, it yielded. The native organizations were proscribed and their leaders arrested and jailed. Thus the native movements and their leaders were the first casualties of the reinforced French fascists.

In the Wind

SENATOR C. WAYLAND BROOKS of Illinois spoke as a fellow-sufferer when he addressed a recent Chicago mass-meeting to protest Nazi atrocities against the Jews. He proclaimed himself a defender of minorities because he was himself a member of a minority. The treatment of Republicans under the New Deal, he said, is comparable to that of Jews under Hitler.

THE CHARLESTON *News and Courier* finds President Roosevelt socially acceptable. "Mr. Roosevelt," it says, "is a pleasant gentleman, well born and well to do, and we would welcome another visit from him. With regard to helping along the war, the *News and Courier* does not believe the President's personal tours do any appreciable amount of good, but he apparently enjoys them hugely, and they give the crowds something to shout about."

TECHNOCRACY, INC., announces in its current literature that it welcomes the participation of "all types of people," but "aliens, Asiatics, and politicians are barred."

IT SEEMS there has been some misunderstanding about the treatment of anti-fascist prisoners in Spain. The Brooklyn *Tablet* clears it up. "No citizen of Russia," it reports, "is allowed to enjoy what prisoners in Spain enjoy."

THE NEVER AGAIN ASSOCIATION, in England, has worked out a post-war program for Germany. Among other things, Germany would be broken up into "its component parts," and England would expel all Axis nationals "and all refugees with very few exceptions."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Czech waitress forty-one years old has been sentenced to two years in prison for inefficient service to a group of Nazi soldiers. . . . Crime is increasing in Norway too: before Germany took over, the average number of criminal prosecutions was 120 to 150 per year; in 1942 it was 1,800, and this year it is already more than 500. . . . At a Norwegian factory some 250 men were herded into a large room to listen to a Quisling orator. In the middle of his speech their interest increased visibly. A large placard reading "Long Live the King" had been raised through an opening in the floor behind the speaker. The perpetrator of the disturbance could not be found.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Europe Against Hitler

II. THE GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

BY JOHN W. GERBER AND ALFRED KANTOROWICZ

THE peoples of the occupied Slavic countries—Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia—have suffered such inconceivable miseries and hardships that they look forward to an Allied invasion even more eagerly than the peoples of Western Europe. The Nazis were indifferent to Quislings in these regions, and with the exception of Slovakia and Croatia, which were set up as "independent" puppet states, the Slavic countries were directly incorporated, territorially and economically, into the German "living space."

Nazi oppression here has been particularly cruel. "Summary courts" have power to sentence suspects without even the pretense of a trial. Heydrich's summary courts executed 394 Czech citizens in the course of a few weeks and ordered 1,300 others handed over to the Gestapo. In Yugoslavia the shooting of 50 or more citizens for the death of one German soldier was at one time almost a daily occurrence. The Belgrade paper *Orass* says that up to November, 1941, 2,100 persons were executed in Shabac, 2,540 in Kraljevo, and 4,576 in Kragujevac. The massacres in Poland are beyond belief. At least two million Polish Jews have been murdered, and an indeterminable number have died in concentration camps. In one concentration camp, Oswiecm, to which 85,840 prisoners had been admitted up to the middle of 1942, it is known that at least 57,000 have died. Such oppression has seriously reduced the number of those who can offer opposition, to say nothing of its effect on their spirit. Deportations for slave labor in Germany—1,200,000 Poles, 300,000 Czechs, 135,000 Yugoslavs (the numbers may be higher, but those are the best available estimates)—have further diminished the manpower of resistance.

Severe labor measures have been imposed on all the Slavic peoples by the Nazi conquerors. The work week is from sixty to seventy-two hours, and the wage rates are generally reckoned to be about half those of German workers doing similar jobs. But the wage rate and what is actually left in the pay envelope are very different things, owing to deductions for the many Nazi rackets. The bad working conditions, in addition to the food scarcity, have greatly weakened the population in all this region.

Poland appears to have the most flourishing underground in Europe, perhaps because an underground movement has been in almost continuous operation there for decades, first against czarist Russia and then against fascist regimes in Poland. More than a hundred underground papers are printed regularly.

The two parts of Czecho-Slovakia—Bohemia-Moravia and Slovakia—must be considered separately. Bohemia-Moravia comprises the industrial part of Czecho-Slovakia, which was formerly the fifth-ranking industrial country of Europe. It has been incorporated into the Reich as a "protectorate" and is subject to all the laws in force for Germans. Nowhere else in Europe has industrial sabotage been so efficiently organized. A recent British report said that there are now 30,000 workers in the Skoda arms factory—the 20,000 original workers and 10,000 shipped in to make up for loss of production caused by the slowdown. There are innumerable stories of ingenious Czech workers who ship goods to the wrong address, fill grenades with sawdust, spoil steel for guns by adding foreign matter.

Slovakia is an "independent" state ruled by a puppet government and is officially an ally of Germany in the war against Russia. But whatever enthusiasm the Slovaks had for the war was dampened when 19,000 of 30,000 soldiers sent to the front were reported casualties. (Many of them, it is believed, deserted to the Russians.) Slovakian troops cannot be depended on to fight guerrillas; two battalions sent out for that purpose sold their weapons to the people they were sent to suppress.

Yugoslavia, like Czecho-Slovakia, has been totally dismembered. Bulgaria took the Macedonian part of the country, Hungary the northern provinces, Italy the Dalmatian coast. The rest was split into a so-called "autonomous" Croatia under Italian influence—the Quisling of which is Ante Pavelich, the ex-terrorist—and Serbia, occupied by the Nazis and ruled by them through a puppet government headed by General Milan Nedic.

Yugoslavia's lead, zinc, and copper mines, the largest in Europe, are now producing for the Nazis. The working conditions of the miners, never good, have been made more unbearable by the lengthened hours and increased pressure.

With German domination of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia so complete, it may seem surprising that vigorous resistance still goes on. Very little guerrilla warfare is waged in Poland or the Bohemian Protectorate, but in Yugoslavia and Slovakia it has become a serious

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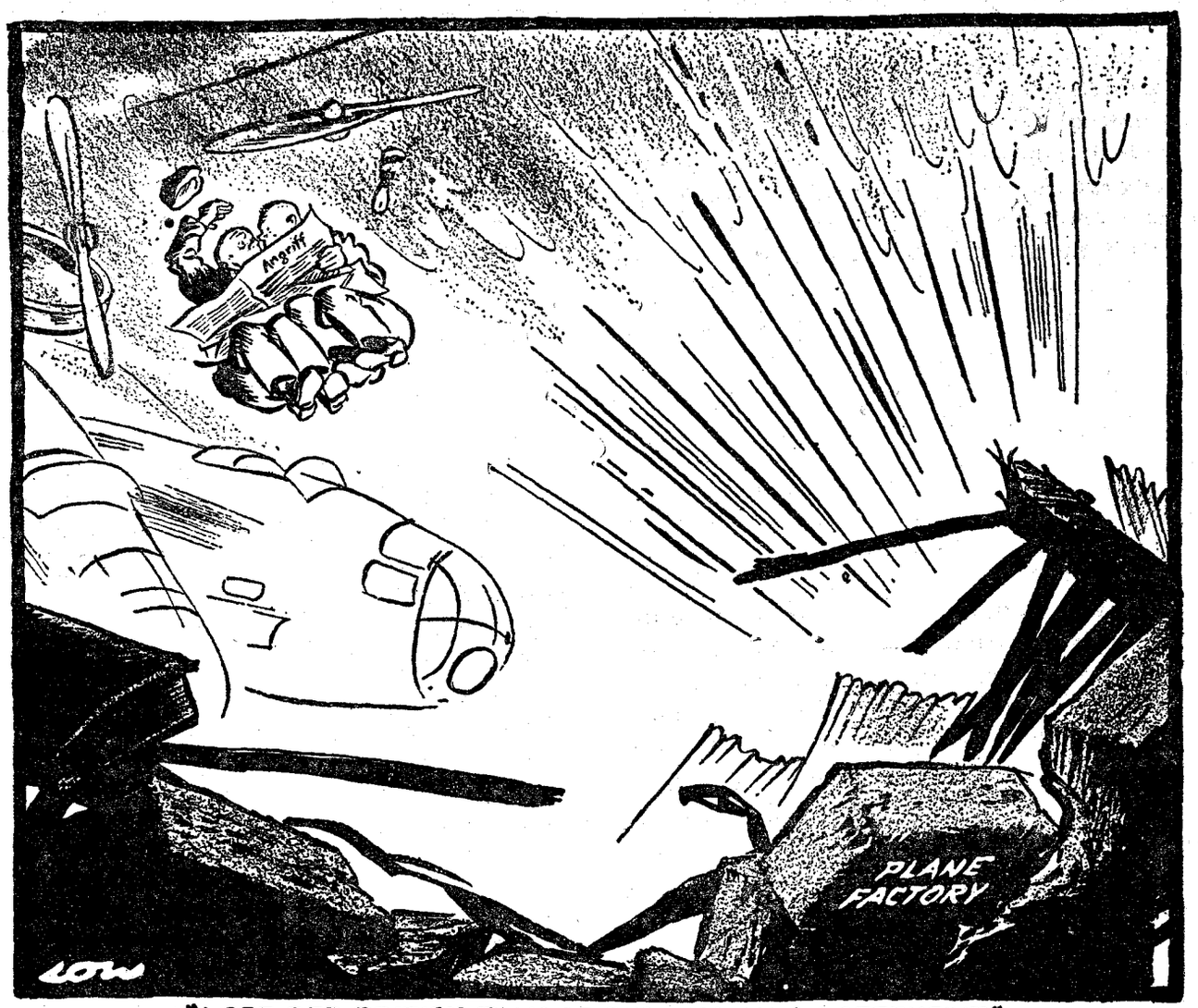
problem for Germany and its satellites. The fighting attained such proportions recently that the Nazis launched a full-scale military campaign, the results of which were reported in the German war communiqués.

The guerrillas hold large sections of the country, publish their own newspapers, operate their own radio stations, and have been issuing their own war communiqués since they began operations. A typical one read: "In fights against German, Hungarian, and Ustachi troops in Bosnia seven towns have been captured. When Djibiljin on the Una was taken, important factories and coal mines fell into the patriots' hands. Fourteen hundred officers and men were killed and over a thousand taken prisoner. Nine important railway lines have been blown up, numerous stations completely demolished. The destruction of telephone and telegraph lines has also been very effective. On the road from Banjakula, the new capital designate for Croatia, to Prijedor, for the second time 500 telegraph lines and poles have been carried off."

One should not be too elated over such a communiqué. The fact that the guerrillas have taken seven towns, including factories and coal mines, indicates neither that they will hold them nor that they have any intention of holding them. At the approach of a superior enemy force the guerrillas simply pull out. But neither should one be discouraged by German communiqués on similar actions. After describing the difficulties of the terrain and the cunning of the patriots, they often say that "organized resistance has been broken," which indicates merely that the guerrillas have broken off the fight and dispersed, to gather again when the Nazis divide or withdraw their forces.

Of the two major Yugoslav guerrilla groups, that headed by General Mihailovich has Anglo-American support and the so-called "partisan" group has Soviet support. The Yugoslav government-in-exile recognizes both, but recognizes the "partisans" only to oppose them. There are also small local groups.

It must be borne in mind that the guerrillas are overwhelmingly outnumbered in every area in which they operate. At the moment their usefulness is confined to tying up large contingents of troops which would otherwise be fighting in Russia or Africa, forcing the Nazis to use material badly needed for their major campaigns, and disrupting communications. With insufficient arms



"I SEE DER BRITISH TALK OF PUTTING ON AN OFFENSIVE"

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and no air power whatever, the guerrillas cannot carry on any decisive action, but when liberating forces approach their zone of operations, it will be another story. Since their effective numbers are determined largely by the available equipment, they will be able to mobilize much larger forces as soon as supplies can be dropped to them by United Nations planes. They will then offer a constant threat to the enemy rear, and if their activities are well-coordinated with ours, they may be an important factor in the struggle.

Germany's satellites, including Italy, are in scarcely any better position than the occupied countries. They receive consideration only in the degree of their willingness to work for a Nazi victory. Finland is willing because of its fear and hatred of the Soviet Union. The leaders of Hungary and Bulgaria are willing because they have gained big slices of territory. Rumania hopes to be compensated, at the cost of Russia, for what it has lost to Hungary. Italy had German backing in its earlier territorial aspirations, but can hardly be looking for further conquests. Although the satellite countries are presumably independent, they are under indirect Nazi domination. The Nazis interfere in their internal administration only as military and economic reasons require, but Gestapo agents and military and economic "counselors" keep careful watch over all activities.

Nazi troops in these countries are not present as occupational forces but as allies of the government, sent to guard strategic frontiers and communications centers. Though they are, of course, available to put down any large-scale rebellions, the suppression of isolated resistance, or potential resistance, is left to the police forces and armies of the nation concerned. They go about it vigorously, for they know that if German troops went into action a German military dictatorship would probably follow. Resistance in the satellite countries, therefore, is revolutionary and not, as in the occupied countries, simply war for national independence. Since local Gestapos can operate with more efficiency, underground work in the satellite countries is infinitely more difficult than in the occupied countries.

Finland and Hungary may be considered as a single problem for several reasons: they have strong racial and language ties, their recent histories are similar, and, most important, the Nazis have assigned them similar roles in their plan for the New Europe. Finland in the North and Hungary in the South are Hitler's two aces in the hole, reserved for the time when he will try to line up Britain and the United States against Russia. Finland and Hungary evoke similar emotional responses in certain circles in Britain and America. Hungary carried on its first "crusade against Bolshevism" in 1919, against Bela Kun. Finland fought the Bolsheviks during the same period, and again more recently. Americans and Britons worked up strong sympathies for both, which makes them ideal gambits in Hitler's game.

Finland had the aid of General von der Goltz and a German expeditionary corps when Marshal Mannerheim and his White Guards seized control from the Russians in 1918, and Germany has ever since maintained its influence in Finnish military circles. The Social Democratic Party that subsequently grew into Finland's leading political party has never been noted for whole-hearted advocacy of democratic action. In 1930, when militant members of the party split away and won twenty-three seats in the Diet, the party leaders applauded the fascist Lapua movement's proposal to jail the militants and suppress their party. What organization remained as a basis for resistance to Finland's current participation in the war—trade-union membership has declined about 45 per cent during the past twenty years—has apparently been further weakened by government propaganda, which stoutly maintains that Finland is fighting only for its "independence and integrity" and has no obligations to any "great power."

Finland's recent elections are not to be confused with democratic processes. Popular participation was suspended, and the electoral college that voted Risto Ryti into power two years ago was simply reconvened to repeat the performance. The "new" government promptly concluded a commercial treaty with Germany that bound the economies of the two countries indissolubly together. If there is any sentiment in the country for joining the United Nations—including Russia—it has not the strength to make itself felt.

Hungary, the first fascist state in Europe, has been the chief beneficiary of the Nazi conquest of Europe. In the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938 Hungary got the southeastern strip of Slovakia and a part of sub-Carpathian Russia. Later it took over the rest of sub-Carpathian Russia, a strip of territory in eastern Slovakia, half of Rumania's Transylvanian provinces, parts of Serbia, and other bits and pieces. Hungary's area and population were thereby approximately doubled. As a natural consequence, anti-fascist propaganda was not viewed favorably by most Hungarians during the days of the German army's invincibility.

With the revisionists in the saddle, delighted to cooperate with Germany, Hungary was controlled with a relatively light hand. Whereas hundreds of thousands of Finnish and Rumanian soldiers were sent to the eastern front, and Bulgaria was overrun with Nazi troops, Hungary contributed only a small force to the war, and the Nazis limited their occupation forces to Gestapo men and "counselors" in key administrative positions.

There have recently been rumors of peace feelers from high places in Hungary. Prime Minister Kallay is said to have been directing inquiries to the Vatican, and Count Bethlen, the prospective Darlan, was reported on a myste-

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rious tour of Europe to line up support. In addition, leaders of Hungary's Social Democratic Party have been making speeches and writing articles increasingly pro-United Nations in tone. It must be remembered, however, that the real democratic forces in Hungary were pretty well crushed when White Guards under Admiral Horthy wiped out the Bela Kun regime in 1919. It is significant that the Social Democratic Party was allowed to live even after the Nazis came in.

The genuine democratic forces of resistance in Hungary still appear to be underground. Early this year Radio Berlin announced the arrest of 664 persons "accused of having tried to overthrow the state by force." Reports of sabotage are becoming more frequent. It is likely that the "peace" talk in Hungary is designed to check the increasing disillusionment of the people with Germany. The Hungarian peasants may not play a big role in winning a United Nations victory, but they will be a big factor in establishing a democratic peace. After hundreds of years of subjection to a variety of oppressors they will be skeptical about any new set of rulers. But they will welcome a government which will take the land from the pro-German aristocracy which controls about three-quarters of it and give it into their hands.

[*The concluding article of this series, on the forces of resistance in the other satellite countries and in Germany itself, will appear next week.*]

Oil for Franco

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

THE State Department assumes full responsibility for the latest shipment of American oil to Spain. "A Spanish vessel," runs an official statement, "took as cargo from Philadelphia a shipment of lubricating oil, of a type required for certain essential industrial and transportation purposes and which under present conditions can be obtained only in the United States."

Secretary of the Interior and Petroleum Administrator Ickes "knows nothing about these shipments." Nor, it seems, do the Spanish people, whose favor is so earnestly sought by certain Washington circles. The domestic broadcasts of Franco's Falange, as monitored by the Federal Communications Commission and made available by the Office of War Information, have contained no reference in recent weeks to the arrival of American goods in Spain.

One Señor Riega, lately returned from Spain, offers a possible explanation for Franco's silence. In a broadcast from Venezuela, Radio Caracas quotes Riega as saying: "If the recent observations of the North American ambassador to Madrid were true, it is certain that the North American gasoline in Spain is evaporating. Three months ago, when I left Madrid, the gasoline that had gone to

Spain was either delivered to the Axis or stored."

The Nazis applaud our Spanish policy. Early in March a Transocean dispatch to North America with a Madrid date line called attention to the fact that American oil shipments were coming from Venezuela and Aruba in Spanish tankers and therefore were not depriving America of any oil. Another Nazi commentator argued that Germany had helped Spain more than America had. He implied, of course, that further American shipments to Spain would not disturb Germany, that, in fact, if Germany occupied Spain, it would be well pleased to find large stocks of American supplies.

The State Department is complacent: "The purposes to which these oils are to be put in Spain have been carefully examined by United States officials."

In his domestic broadcasts Franco attacks the United Nations with increasing vigor. "The Jewish banks of New York and London," screams the Falange station at Valladolid, "in concert with Bolshevism, unleashed this war. Should it really be their hour, it would pass down as the end of Europe. But like a brilliant ray of hope Hitler's voice has assured us that this fight will not finish as the Jews wish, with the extermination of the Aryan race. It will finish with the destruction of European Jewry." The same station frankly points out that "the Caudillo has never hidden the fact that his sympathies in the present war cannot be with the enemies of the Axis." The Barcelona radio warns that "new sacrifices and new struggles are required. Today a few Spanish volunteers assert on Russian soil the will to final victory. We must be ready for the future, when Spain's

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imperial routes will unfold under our eyes as a tangible reality, thanks to the blood of those who fell for Spain." The Seville radio says: "In time of peace we must prepare for war. Our armies on their eternal watch in Europe and Africa remain on the alert." "Spain is a nation in readiness for combat," asserts a Barcelona commentator. "We have fully realized that pacifism is the attitude of sheep, and we in our own flesh have more of the fury of wolves and bulls."

This new belligerence might be interpreted as preparation for an attack on our forces in North Africa. A more plausible hypothesis is that Franco, under Nazi direction, has been trying, by the mere threat of attack, to immobilize a considerable Allied force on the border of Spanish Morocco. United States supplies will be useful in carrying out either purpose.

Goebbels in Katyn

[If Hitler fought and won the political Battle of Munich, it was because he was fully aware that the democracies would make no real stand. He knew the strength of the reactionary forces, of the appeasers, of the capitulards *in most of the European Cabinets and Foreign Offices. If today Hitler has launched a new political offensive in the international field—whose first result has been the Soviet-Polish break—it is because he sees how the United Nations have been weakened by their lack of a strong, united, genuinely democratic leadership. We are only at the beginning of Hitler's Second Political War. The excerpts given below show how it is carried on by means of the Axis radio.]*

BERLIN RADIO: A foreign agency reported last month that the Soviet Union had prohibited Poles from leaving the Soviet Union. In connection with the mass graves of Katyn this news caused much concern among the Poles living in other foreign countries. According to the *Basler Nachrichten,* the above-mentioned foreign agency's report has been confirmed by competent authorities. The Swiss paper makes the following statement in this connection: "The Polish troops which were evacuated from Soviet Russia to the Near East and to Scotland are greatly perturbed by the news that all Polish citizens who were deported to Soviet Russia or happened to be in that country are now considered citizens of the Soviet Union! There are thousands of women and children and parents of Polish soldiers among the Polish citizens in the Soviet Union. At the time of their departure the Polish soldiers were assured that their families would soon be permitted to follow them. This change of attitude on the part of the Soviet Union reveals remarkable future perspectives. Every Pole recalls the mass graves of Katyn when he thinks about the fate of his relatives in Soviet Russia."

Berlin Radio: The papers in Argentina point out that Moscow's step did not come as a surprise to the Argentine people, for the latter had been currently informed of the developments in the forest of Katyn. [Apparently, President Castillo had his Chief of Cabinet there, spending his spring holiday.] Political circles in Buenos Aires are of the opinion that the British and United States governments will now have to face the alternatives of backing the Bolsheviks, thus morally approving of the crimes committed by Moscow, or of moving away from the Kremlin in a more or less concealed manner.

Rome Radio: We in the Axis countries have never connected the British and the Americans with the horrible practice which the BBC called the Smolensk crime. All we have said in this connection is that we fail to understand how nations which call themselves civilized and wear the trappings of liberty and freedom can stoop to side with the sworn enemies of civilization and freedom.

Tokyo Radio: The severance of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish émigré government in London is further proof of the lack of unity among the anti-Axis powers. This latest incident should shatter the confidence the smaller nations are placing in the unity of their so-called protectors.

Paris Radio: The reasons given by Molotov for the severance of relations are considered by competent circles in France a confession that Moscow was guilty of the mass murder in the forest of Katyn. The same circles add that it is in the line of Soviet policy first to exploit its allies as far as possible and then to drop them.

Madrid Radio: Three Spanish physicians were en route to Russia by invitation today to take part in the International Red Cross investigation of the reported slaughter of 10,000 Poles in the Smolensk area. The newspaper *ABC* published a dispatch by a special correspondent which said the Germans were continuing the work of unearthing bodies from the common grave in Katyn Forest near Smolensk. The dispatch said that some Red Cross delegates already had arrived on the scene, and that additional discoveries of similar mass burials had been reported from other parts of Russia, such as the Odessa area, where the bodies were said to be those of Rumanian civilians. [Previous to this broadcast, the International Red Cross had announced that it would not undertake an investigation without the consent of the Soviet Union.]

Vichy Radio: One of the members of the United Nations who recently visited the scene of the mass murders at Katyn was Dr. Kozlovski, former Prime Minister of Poland. He emphasized that the Polish officers were the victims of barbarism based on Bolshevik terror. After inspecting the documents, incriminating evidence, he said that there was not the least doubt that the Katyn forests were the scene of a mass murder by the GPU.

Behind the Enemy Line, by Argus, was unavoidably omitted from this issue, but will appear next week as usual.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

New Guinea

And see thou hurt not the oil and the wine

Geography was violently dead,
Hairline and parallel, Mercator, torn,
Brushed by a finger from the finespun map
As one might desecrate a spider's web;

And now like Moses was our will again
To part the sea and push all distance back
To cross the dry land of your wavy roads
In plotted days exuberantly home;

Witness like him our enemy engulfed,
Churned hideous-eyed in coiling ocean-troughs,
Sucked down and drowned and beaten to the floor,
To justify the praises of our war.

We lived upon this chart, traded and sailed,
Made strong the latitudes with sailor's hemp,
Our cables mossy under deafening depths
And words in air. A world lay in your net.

And children learned a land shaped like a bird,
Impenetrable black. Here savages
Made shrunken heads of corpses, poison darts
Pricked sudden death, no man had crossed their hills.

It fell from Asia, severed from the East;
It was the last Unknown. Only the fringe
Was nervous to the touch of voyagers.
Business and boys looked close and would have come.

In war did come, crashing the gifts of iron
Crated on crazy trails where by our blood
The rat-toothed enemy is backward inched,
And forests bulldozed, busted into streets.

Morning I rise and marvel at the laden
Lush-abandoned branch and brush of soaked
Laocoons of trees in throes of ser-
Pent-tightening tendrils and air-clambering roots.

Awake, the largest snowiest butterfly
Floating with eyes of lavender between
The men strung heavily like weighted bats
And finishing, from tree to tree, their rest.

And soon awake the split-wing congeries
Of fliers driving in a line like bees
Shake loose the warming silences and storm
From every sleeper his last easy dream.

Surely, the frontage of the world is up
When on the old cosmography and stars,
Mercator, we inscribe our whir of wings
To roads instinctive as the climbing god's.

Presume our purpose high as flight, like yours,
Or charity in every gain implied,
Or joy of settlement for reason's sake;
See us confute logistics like a map,

Our space be balanced in the scales of light,
No longer his whose hideous horse he spurs
Into the dream of common man, and prove
World-wide the knowledge heart of peace.

What happens to the dark primordial law
Of those whose home this is, happens to us,
Seeing the preternatural fall of fire
Strike from the sky witchdoctors, villages;

Their desolation see us deeply trust
And never hurt their oil and their wine:
Peace to the science of these fevered woods,
Their attributes, their language and their gods.

KARL J. SHAPIRO

I Am the Lord High Executioner

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CURMUDGEON. By Harold L. Ickes. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

FOR years everyone has been looking for the polite and expressive word to describe the incumbent Secretary of the Interior. But it has taken Philologist Ickes himself to dig up "curmudgeon" as the right one for "Bluebeard and Danton and Samuel Johnson and Morgan the Pirate and Henry VIII and Billy the Kid"—and himself. Ickes not only informs us he is a curmudgeon: he claims he is a self-made one. His mother, he tells us, had hoped to see him become a Man of God. But, as he says, he would have been foredoomed to failure. "Far better to be a highly successful curmudgeon than an indifferent preacher."

Until this book was published, one assumed that the press could do nothing more to Ickes. But apparently he has been right all along in damning the papers for their diabolical ingenuity. For having failed to get either him or his goat by strong-arm methods, they seem to have worked out a new technique for discrediting him. They are receiving his autobiography as though all the talk about his being a curmudgeon were just a gag, as though old Harold were just another sentimental stuffed shirt. This is the ultimate outrage. Just because the executioner can laugh at himself as well as assassinate others, just because he can write, the press is not justified in remaking him into a Sunday School teacher. No, Ickes, the self-made, hard-working curmudgeon is not a fraud. He is what everybody knows a curmudgeon is; for the good of the country he must keep on being one; and we may be sure that he will answer the press's latest campaign to discredit him with a new declaration of war against it. No soft answer can really turn away a curmudgeon's wrath.

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Ickes's predictable reaction to a recent editorial convert was as follows:

> I had a lot of fun reading this. I was struck by the good English, too, and the twists and turns to make a point more effective. I understand, of course, as do you, that this represents only a hiatus of probably short duration because I shall never cease to set the newspapers by their ears again when I can. Perhaps I was only putting a fast one over on you. . . . (*Signed*) HAROLD L. ICKES.

As a bona fide curmudgeon, Ickes wants the press to hate him, not to remake him into a genial old character actor. In self-defense, he may even have to refuse to accept his latest victory—the trade's admission at long last that he really was a newspaperman in the old days!

Harold Ickes is not only Secretary of the Interior and oil czar. He is also one of the most effective leaders of the opposition to the Administration. The reason for this apparent paradox is that he is the only New Dealer of any consequence left in office. The men who are running Washington—above all Harry Hopkins—believe that the New Deal is both unpopular with the country and detrimental to the conduct of the war: one of the few thoroughly efficient jobs ever pulled off by the Hopkins junta has been the burying of the New Deal and the isolation of the New Dealers.

Before the 1940 election, when the New Deal was still alive, Ickes was in the government as well as in the Interior building. As the Republicans now acknowledge, he was one of those most instrumental in persuading the people that the President had to be reelected, and in persuading the President in May, 1940, that he could be reelected. Ickes ended Tom Dewey's candidacy when he said that Dewey had thrown his diaper into the ring. His calling Willkie "the bare-foot Wall Street lawyer," as well as his baiting Willkie into running part of the time against Ickes instead of against the Commander-in-Chief, helped cut Willkie's clear pre-Elwood majority down to the 23,000,000 votes he had left in November. Before Willkie had talked himself out of the lead, Hopkins was saying that Roosevelt would carry forty-six states without making a speech. But Ickes led the group which in the nick of time frightened the President into fighting. Nothing is more characteristic of the workings of this Administration than that Hopkins—who will get more votes for the Republicans in 1944 than any Republican nominee in sight—should be the real power in the White House while Ickes is humored, mocked, and kicked as the court jester. And now that this unnecessary coal crisis has been allowed to explode in the country's face, the thankless job of averting tragedy has been thrust upon Ickes, the clown and scapegoat—and he has saved the situation.

Ickes's war record has been as good as his political record—although since 1940 it has been infinitely more difficult for him to get action or even to see the President. As one chapter of this book relates, his war record goes back to 1933, when most people thought that our regeneration was a purely national problem but when Public Works Administrator Ickes was spending the first $237,000,000 of his unprecedented appropriation for the navy. Since 1940 his war record has been made fighting his better-placed anti-New Deal colleagues and correcting their blunders.

In the spring of 1941, when Ickes became oil czar, the Administration did not realize that the only way the people would enter the war was against Japan. Instead, it was trying to bribe Japan with oil to let this be a one-ocean war. Although Ickes's jurisdiction over oil was purely domestic, he immediately seized on a temporary local shortage to stop a cargo leaving for Japan. No public beating he has taken from his enemies compares with what he then received in private He came closer to being fired than Jesse Jones ever has. But he took his beating in silence, waited while the congratulatory letters poured in from all over the country, and simply packed them into two trunks which he sent over to the Secretary of State.

Today, if we have enough gasoline to keep our bombers in the air over Germany, if England has enough gasoline in storage to keep the offensive going this year, if all our tankers have not been knocked off like clay pigeons on the Atlantic Coast, if pipe lines have finally been built (Donald Nelson's first use of his authority was to veto them), we can thank Harold Ickes. If we have an aluminum and a magnesium program, if we have begun using our precious Western metals, if some bunglers have been fired out of Washington, and if the public knows about others, we can thank Ickes and what is left of his team. As a matter of fact, we wouldn't have Henry Kaiser or many of our other West Coast miracles if it had not been for the Interior Department's monumental water-power program in the West.

Victories so prodigious never come easily to a curmudgeon. Ickes bought every one of them with his iron fist, thick skin, and poison pen. He bought it with his letters of resignation to the President and with his letters of accusation to his colleagues. Whereas this Congress is crucifying every agency set up to appease it, Ickes is the only man in the government whose word it takes and out of whose way it stays.

This book is the story of how Ickes learned to be a curmudgeon. It does not include the incredible story of how he made the country hate and respect him. Nevertheless, its careful analysis of a generation of Progressive Republican politics, in Illinois and in the nation, sheds a good deal of light on the genesis of the coalition which made the Democratic Party the vehicle for the New Deal in 1932, as well as on the nature of the present coalition which has replaced it.

The book makes grand reading. It is full of unforgettable stories. Item, when Ickes asked Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis to run against Big Bill Thompson, Landis said, "Ickes, I would just as soon have you ask me to clean a back-house." It is spiced with Ickesisms like "Hats off to Frank B. Kellogg who 'outlawed' war in so many words." And it abounds with invective worthy of the classical curmudgeon tradition:

> The miserable machinations that went on in that [Republican] convention [of 1920] were stomach-turning. They made me feel as if I had a mouth full of alum. They gripe me still when I think of them. They were poison ivy even to a curmudgeon. Medill McCormick, thumbing his nose at the people, was happily hopping hither and yon as one of the inside group determined upon carrying out the will of the notorious machine which he and I both had fought, sincerely as I thought, and with conviction, in the good old days. Boies Penrose lay on his deathbed in Philadelphia, while his safety-deposit box was bursting with bank-notes of large denominations—dying but not yet ready to be shriven before delivering himself up to judgment.

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Penrose joined by telephone in the conspiracy that was being brewed in the "small smoke-filled room" where an evil candidate was to emerge from the witch's caldron.

The curmudgeon is not free now to write and speak as he pleases. But when he returns to his journalistic trade and is again free to permit himself the luxury of dealing in personalities, we may be sure that in Volume II of his autobiography—and in his papers—we shall find no such moderation as he forced upon himself in this prologue to the second greatest story of the Roosevelt era.

ELIOT JANEWAY

Africa, Past and Future

AFRICA: FACTS AND FORECASTS. By Albert M. Maisel. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

MR. MAISEL had the excellent idea of compiling a popular politico-economic guide to Africa, the necessary facts to be spiced with a running commentary on their significance. Africa deserves such a handbook. It deserves far more, for it is in many ways one of the world's great problems—and will remain so after the war.

The problems of progress in Africa—human, economic, political—are of a magnitude to stagger the imagination. They parallel, and perhaps exceed in complexity, those of Southeast Asia and Latin America, not entirely because Africa is mostly a colonial continent. For while in all these areas the basic task is to raise the productivity of labor to provide the tax base from which to raise funds for the educational, medical, and scientific services which are indispensable preliminaries to political progress, in Africa the psycho-cultural resistance to change is perhaps more intense than elsewhere. African progress, such as it has been in modern times, has been an incidental by-product of the exploitation of the resources, human and physical, by Europeans for the primary benefit of Europe. Mr. Maisel is so keen—and properly—to emphasize the small sums allotted to the social services in colonial budgets, that he fails to make entirely clear that even these pittances are chiefly derived from taxes on European enterprises. The taxes levied on the natives, correctly described as designed to force them to take employment in white enterprises, would not, if diverted in their entirety, support adequate services. It is for this reason that the British have advanced a scheme for subsidizing colonial development, providing the sums in the United Kingdom budget. To begin to solve the African problem, it would be necessary to redesign the African economy from the ground up.

Mr. Maisel sees this clearly enough, but instead of dwelling on complexities as a realist would, he writes a whole section on Africa and the Atlantic Charter. It is full of goodwill, but it sums up to an extension of New Dealism into Africa, though not with tax funds derived from African sources. It contains an overdose of what James T. Shotwell calls "slogan thinking." It is very loosely reasoned. It is based on the notion that international control of colonial areas is certain to be a post-war policy, an approach already thrown into the discard as far as the British are concerned by Messrs. Winston Churchill and Oliver Stanley. And as Mr. Maisel knows, subsidizing public works, etc., etc., without political

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control of their use is very risky business, in Africa and elsewhere. Mr. Maisel is on the side of the angels, but like so many angels he pays too little attention to the machinations of the devils of status quo. Even within his limitations he is careless. He says that the funds for his African Development Commission should come "for the most part" from the United States, Britain, Russia, and China. It is to be doubted that Russia will have capital funds for African development. It is certain that China will have none. British publicists have said time and again that the United Kingdom simply cannot afford to bring the African social services up to a reasonably satisfactory level. That leaves the United States to carry the heft of the burden. Will it do so?

Moreover, Mr. Maisel, like all too many writers on the world's depressed areas, is so beguiled by technological possibilities that he fails to place Africa in the context of the world's future markets. To be sure he points out how small a proportion of world trade Africa now claims, but the only way Africa can profit by an increase in its export production, is through an increase in the total volume of that trade. A mere struggle, even though subsidized, to increase its fraction of existing trade will get Africa no place. Africa's future in world trade therefore turns upon the condition of the post-war world market for its produce. Mr. Maisel has nothing to say on the point.

He might profitably have employed some of the space he devotes to the North African military and political campaigns to placing Africa in the world context. In fact, by hewing all too closely to the news, Mr. Maisel makes his whole book far more topical than a handbook should be.

In pages 171 to 304 he really gets down to his job as a compiler. He there reviews the political divisions of Africa seriatim. In general he does a useful job. He tells the reader a great deal about Africa, more or less painlessly. If he had enlarged this section and reduced the topical material, he would really have achieved his general purpose. He sometimes fails to state important matters fully. He is unfair to the Portuguese for example, for he does not make it clear that labor employers are as open to criticism as labor exporters —that the British mining magnates are as much to be censured as the Portuguese colonial administrators; he fails to state the British interest in the railways running to the coast through Mozambique; and his reference to Lourenco Marques is hardly an adequate statement of the significance of that important port. Small errors creep in. Sir Henry Morton Stanley was an Englishman, not an American; the Anglo-Egyptian condominium is not a unique political institution, for the same form is used to control the New Hebrides and Canton Island; and the High Commission Territories predate the evolution of the Union of South Africa's native policy into its present depressing shape.

In his bibliography, generally useful, Mr. Maisel omits any references to J. M. Tinley's careful "Native Problem of South Africa" (1942), which is that rare thing, a good book on Africa by an American academician; W. K. Hancock's survey of British African affairs, "Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Volume II, Problems of Economic Policy, 1918-39, Part 2" (1942); and the useful compilation "An Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire," published periodically by the Colonial Office, London. Had he consulted the last he might well have worked out a revealing table showing just where British colonial income does go, including the sizable item in every colony devoted to paying pensions to retired civil servants resident in England. But Mr. Maisel does make Africa better known and that is a very useful service.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

When the Armistice Comes

THE PEACE WE FIGHT FOR. By Hiram Motherwell. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THIS review is written in Chicago, the city which, according to her enemies, has only two seasons—winter and August. But as I write these lines, after a long and hard winter, warm spring sunshine peeps through the window. Likewise Hiram Motherwell's new book comes as a refreshing episode after a long, hardly bearable succession of superficial books on reconstruction and post-war problems.

I certainly do not agree altogether with what Motherwell suggests. I don't know whether I agree with 50 per cent of what he writes and proposes. But I know that the book was written by a man who knows Europe, who has an idealistic outlook and a practical mind, and thus is fitted to deal with the complicated problems of a cockeyed post-war world. Hiram Motherwell learned his lesson in the hard way. For ten years he was correspondent in Europe; seven of them he spent, for the Chicago *Daily News,* in Berlin and Rome.

Once upon a time only persons who thoroughly knew their subject were considered experts. Then suddenly any young man with six months' experience as a radio commentator or as a cub reporter in Berlin was hailed as an expert after writing a book on his fleeting experiences.

Hiram Motherwell belongs to the class of experts who know what they are talking about. The 224 pages of his book which constitute the actual analysis and the concrete proposals of reconstruction are full of facts or of deductions based on clear thinking. The analysis of Europe on "armistice day" is a magnificent piece of work, even if it is unduly depressing. I think Motherwell in this chapter is unduly pessimistic because he does not take sufficiently into account the apathy and tiredness the average European will feel after this war. Still, it is better to be prepared for the worst than to entertain false illusions concerning the shape of things to come. In Motherwell's picture empty shops, reticent farmers, broken-down trains, collapsed currencies complicate the existing political chaos. Wages no longer mean anything in purchasing power. On the other hand, according to Motherwell, there will be plenty of arms for the masses of Europe, including those hidden and now unearthed by people no longer fearing the revenge of the Gestapo.

Pessimistic as Motherwell's description of the post-war period may be, he believes that all these problems can be solved if enough good-will and common sense are used to unravel the tangle. Motherwell has sensible proposals as to the distribution of food in Europe. Also he proposes a "European dollar" currency as a solution for the financial problems of Europe. Since Motherwell wrote his book, England's unorthodox but brilliant John Maynard Keynes has come out with a surprisingly similar proposition.

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Motherwell proposes the establishment of an interim super-government of Europe, which will slowly yield power to the various regional federations. This sounds somewhat utopian, but, again, Motherwell has a good argument. If the Anglo-Saxon countries wish European federation, this time such an objective can be achieved, because there will be no armies left in Europe except those of Russia. The writer also warns against too much wishful thinking, and in the chapter on "super-government" he insists that the United Nations will not be able to "impose" democratic governments on all nations but must encourage them to choose governments which best fit their form of life. Those who witnessed the problems of the last post-war period know how realistic Motherwell's observations are. Already at this juncture he points out the need of friendship between Russia and the other United Nations. "If this should be sabotaged," he says, "by factional groups within the United Nations governments or by red-hot revolutionists in the U. S. S. R., then we may as well get ready for World War III."

Sometimes, however, Motherwell becomes too "practical." He advises, for example, that Hjalmar Schacht, who rehabilitated the German mark after the 1923 inflation, be used by the super-government as a financial expert. Motherwell remembers only the Schacht who rehabilitated the mark. But I remember the Schacht who in 1935 tied up the Balkan countries in Germany's service as sources of raw material for Germany's coming war effort.

His chapter on the balance of power is a brilliant analysis. Motherwell, in fact, proposes a new balance of power: England and Russia combining to keep Europe disarmed and peaceful, and the American and English navies cooperating as the necessary counterpoise to this balance. Because in Motherwell's mind Europe cannot offer sufficient markets to American trade, great efforts should be made to keep the "open-door" policy in Asia, but in *all* Asia, including the British and Dutch possessions.

The author believes that a people's peace has now become feasible because for the first time in the history of the world it is technologically possible to see that all people get enough to eat, as Vice-President Wallace has already pointed out.

Motherwell's book is provoking and disarming. It is the challenge of a practical idealist who knows his subject and whose thinking is crystal-clear. M. W. FODOR

Fiction in Review

WHILE I have never been of the majority that considers Sinclair Lewis, even the Sinclair Lewis of "Main Street" and "Babbitt," a great novelist, I feel sad to have to report of "Gideon Planish" (Random House, $2.50) that I found it unimportant, sloppy, and even dull. There is something personally endearing about Mr. Lewis as a writer that checks a completely objective estimate of his recent work —a sweetness of temper, perhaps, that comes through everything he writes, or his boyish idealism of which he is so boyishly ashamed. Or perhaps it is merely because his fictional creations seem so clearly to be aspects of his own many-faceted personality that one feels that to turn and attack him is to take unfair advantage of what he has been naive

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enough to tell us about himself. For obviously Mr. Lewis is all the leading characters in his novels, the admirable and the not so admirable—Carol Kennicott and Babbitt and Martin Arrowsmith and Elmer Gantry and now Gideon Planish; this is certainly part of his fictional energy, this constant bubbling-over of his own potentialities, on the one hand, and on the other hand the incessant desire to show himself up. And when an author is showing himself up, it makes a nice problem to decide how much the reader should spare him the censure or satire he has not spared himself.

And in "Gideon Planish," which is in the satiric, debunking tradition of "Elmer Gantry," Mr. Lewis is showing-up for all he is worth. His hero-villain is a young man who rises from a highly questionable professorship in a small Western college to become the "organizator" of a series of highly questionable philanthropic and educational institutions; almost inevitably the present war finds him associated with a group of plain and fancy fascists operating under the name of the Dynamos of Democratic Direction. Gideon Planish is only a soft, dopy, go-getting do-gooder of easy virtue who is in love with the sound of his own words, but with the encouragement of his wife Peony—whose rosy ruthlessness makes her the most attractive character in the book—he makes a fairly good thing of this country's aptitude for organizations. But significantly, long before Gideon has achieved his dubious destiny, Mr. Lewis has become much more interested in his associations than in Gideon himself: in love with the sound of *his* own words, Mr. Lewis can no more resist the comic-euphonious possibilities of a racket called the Citizens Conference on Constitutional Crises in the Commonwealth, or the muck-raking possibilities of an organization called the Every Man a Priest Fraternity, than Planish can resist spewing forth his balderdash. I am afraid, in fact, that Mr. Lewis is a little like the drawing-room lady who will sacrifice anyone's character for a good story; he will sacrifice any characterization or situation for some good satiric fun, and consequently "Gideon Planish" is full of abstractions—abstractions of people called Bultitude and Blizzard and even Zeke Bittery and Bonnie Popick, and abstractions of situations between his abstractions of people. When he occasionally remembers that he is writing a novel and that a novel, being concerned with human beings, must be concerned with emotion and that emotion exists in conflict, he sets a conflict on top of a character like an undersized hat ready to be blown off by the first breeze; then he himself supplies a gale.

The result of such methods is that, no more than Elmer Gantry won a place for himself in our mythology as the type of religious racketeer, will Gideon Planish win a place for himself as the folk-type of philanthropic racketeer. The muck-raking of character is no substitute for creating character, and if we say of someone "He's a Babbitt," as we never say of anyone, "He's an Elmer Gantry," and as I suspect we shall never say of anyone, "He's a Gideon Planish," it is because there was once a time when Mr. Lewis himself knew that weakness or even villainy must be shown in its full humanity to do its job as literature and grip the popular imagination.

But at least "Gideon Planish," whatever its faults, is on the side of the material and rational and positivistic, which is something to be grateful for in these days of increasing mysticism and mystification. Lion Feuchtwanger's new novel, "Double, Double, Toil and Trouble" (Viking, $2.75), while it professes to cast the non-rational into the clear revealing light of historical analysis, is itself sufficiently rooted in mysticism to be rather disturbing. It tells the story of one Oscar Lautensack (he had his counterpart in real life), a German practitioner of the dark sciences whose gift for mind-reading and foretelling the future brings him into the service of the Nazis at the time of their rise to power. So long as he is kept in rein, Lautensack is useful to the Nazis not only as adviser to individual leaders, including Hitler, but as public exemplification of the mystical element in the Nazi philosophy and as a public symbol of the supernal powers of the party. So far, so good for even the crassest materialist. But Mr. Feuchtwanger believes in Lautensack's telepathic gifts and makes a sharp distinction between their proper use and their prostitution to Nazism; he gives what seems to me to be disproportionate, actually dangerous, stature to his mind-reader as a mind-reader; so that, if I understand him correctly, he would appear to be saying that the powers of telepathy should be preserved incorruptible for the service of a *good* political ideal—a discrimination that worries me considerably for the future of his good political ideal. At any rate there seems to be a fellow-novelist whom Upton Sinclair can count on for company when the next democratic convention adjourns for a seance.

Profoundly antipathetic to historical novels, I still can heartily recommend the historical novels of Howard Fast. The first of his books I read was "The Unvanquished," about George Washington; now Mr. Fast has an excellent new novel called "Citizen Tom Paine" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75); perhaps the book about Tom Paine is a bit self-conscious and a little flossier than the Washington book, but certainly not enough so to spoil it. And it is very timely, not alone for its subject but for its method. For what I keep recalling, in all the fuss over how badly history is taught in the high schools, is not so much the confusion or lack of facts which distinguished my own history education but the sense with which I grew up of there being no conceivable connection between history and my own present; by the lights of my training—which I hope was special—there was once an eighteenth century, and it had wars and treaties and things, and then a couple of hundred years passed and along came the nineteenth century, and *it* had wars and treaties and things, and then thousands of years passed and finally it was the twentieth century, but thank heaven we didn't have to worry about that because it wasn't yet past, and therefore wasn't in the books! Between this so distant past and the present there was certainly no *human* connection. Well, I am obviously not suggesting that Howard Fast's novels will change our subhuman tendency to teach and live as if no one ever taught or lived before or after us, but they may help. At least, Mr. Fast is the only contemporary historical novelist I know who works on the premise that even people who were born two hundred years ago were really people. And if there is still a long way to go between his re-creation, say, of Tom Paine and what a really great novelist might do with so appealing and revolting and compelling a character, nevertheless among historical novelists Mr. Fast is at this moment in a class by himself for taste and talent, DIANA TRILLING

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IN BRIEF

TILDA. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

Against the background of the war as it touches the lives of an ordinary family, Mr. Van Doren has written a warm, simple, tender love story. The characters are completely natural, so natural that they seem capable of walking out of the pages of the book and continuing where their author left off. And the nicest thing about it is the way the reader becomes gradually involved in the unfolding of the plot. His objective interest on the Monday morning when the story opens develops into affectionate congratulation at the close a few days later when Tilda bids goodby to her soldier at the station. Finally, it is no more than one's duty—considering the season—to mention the especially delightful scene at the ball game between the Giants and the Cards. The Giants win.

OVERCOMING ANTI-SEMITISM. By Solomon A. Fineberg. Harper and Brothers. $2.

This book may be regarded as an extensive exposition of the maxim: "A soft answer turneth away wrath." The author, who has evidently had a wide experience in directing social relations, illumines his thesis with many concrete examples of the efficacy of meeting anti-Semitic prejudice with dignified and unemotional resistance. The book is primarily intended for Jews. Gentiles might read it with profit to discover what kind of spiritual suffering is caused by various forms of discrimination. The study does not pretend to be a profound analysis of the whole racial issue. It seeks only to deal with the immediate problems of Gentile-Jew relations.

REDISCOVERING SOUTH AMERICA. By Harry A. Franck. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

CHILE. By Erna Fergusson. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

Here are two travelers' accounts of South America, both written with engaging directness, and both published with plenty of illustrations. Erna Fergusson has long since shown herself a happy traveling companion in Spanish America. She sees, thinks, and writes with an honest feeling of responsibility, she enjoys herself, and she makes you understand that Chileans are real and worth-while people, pretty much like North Americans. Harry Franck, who has traveled more widely and written more books, reports more informally and with fewer quotation marks. He says plainly that he is interested only in what strikes his fancy, and proceeds without a breath of official pan-Americanism. There is a great deal to be said for such books, which offer us the immediacy of direct experience without the physical pangs of cold, hunger, and exhaustion that go with real travel. They are not far enough removed from the event to be great books, but they are probably more valuable as a foundation for understanding the lands and the people they tell of than are the compendiums of professional reporters who interview Presidents and Cabinet members and draw on the "Encyclopedia Britannica" for statistics.

THIS TIME FOR KEEPS. By John MacCormac. The Viking Press. $2.

John MacCormac is an astute observer of contemporary history and a wise guide into the future. What he has to say about the problems of the war and the issues of the post-war period is always on the side of the angels. "There are two ways," he declares, "in which we can lose the peace after winning the war. The one is to pretend that this is a soldiers' war in which a military victory is all that matters. The other would be to allow the setting up of reactionary governments in Europe as barriers to bolshevism." His advice in regard to the treatment of the defeated nations is equally prudent. MacCormac is the kind of person who could write a great book on war and peace. But this is not it. Its chapters are too occasional and disjointed, and the book lacks real unity. A part of it is devoted to a very interesting description of "what the army teaches the soldier," drawn from the author's own experience as a teacher in the army orientation courses. The information is somewhat reassuring, though he admits that the "army does not see that this is an ideological war in which some of the most important weapons are intellectual ones."

THE CHILEAN POPULAR FRONT. By John Reese Stevenson. University of Pennsylvania Press. $1.50.

Here is an able and a much-needed contribution to the political literature of the Americas. Chile is an important country to watch because, like Mexico, it stands somewhat ahead of its neighbors and suggests the way others will go. Because the forces at work there—economic, social, and political—are curiously exposed and clear, the evolution of government in Chile is of great general interest as well. Any student of political history will profit by this demonstration of democracy trying to realize itself. The various roads to dictatorship, the danger of "congressional anarchy," the futility of social reform without a reliable political basis, the kind of class solidarity upon which democracy will function—and the kind which is its negation—such situations are of universal import. Mr. Stevenson's account, though it suffers somewhat from the indecisiveness and didacticism of the thesis, is a serious and honest report. It is not a book to pick up for entertainment, but it affords the basis of knowledge upon which any fruitful contact with the Latin American countries must be founded.

ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERARY RELATIONS. By George Stuart Gordon. Oxford University Press. $1.50.

The late George Gordon, Merton professor of English literature, president of Magdalen College, and professor of poetry in the University of Oxford, was one of the most popular and stimulating lecturers among English scholars. Since he published little it is fortunate that Dr. R. W. Chapman has made a book out of this material, originally delivered as lectures on the Sulgrave Manor Foundation at University College, London, and later at the Royal Institution. Few writers have spoken with more real appreciation of early American literature, or, among foreigners (one hesitates to use the word, though Gordon was never in this country), with deeper understanding of America's aspirations for a literature of her own growth.

MUSIC

THE Ballet Theater has added to its repertory a work of George Balanchine—his "Apollo," to music by Stravinsky. And no weasel words in the *Times* will change the fact that it brought Balanchine—for the first time, as far as I know—a triumphant success with the general public; that the huge Sunday night audience packed into the Metropolitan that warmly applauded Tudor's "Romeo and Juliet" later burst into applause at several points during "Apollo," roared its approval at the end, continued to applaud the dancers and then Stravinsky, and did not stop until Balanchine appeared, when it burst into another roar and compelled

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him to appear again; and that it behaved this way about "Apollo" for the same reason as it had applauded "Romeo," and for the same reason as impelled my guest to exclaim after Balanchine's piece: "That was lovely; that was as pure and refreshing as the *pas de deux* in 'Billy the Kid.'" The audience, that is, expressed its pleasure over what it had seen: the flow of movement in a classical style altered, extended, enriched into a medium for one of the most exciting of imaginations—an imagination that made of the classical solo variation of the male dancer a touching expression of a young Apollo's delight in his powers, and that conveyed other such implications in the other classical ballet situations. The audience's response was the more gratifying since the quality and implications of the movement were only partly achieved by the performance: the two lesser women's roles were well done by Rosella Hightower and especially by Nora Kaye, whose dancing had brilliance, style, and intensity; but there were no brilliance and style in Zorina's dancing of the chief woman's role; and handsomeness and agility were all that Eglevsky had of the equipment of an Apollo. And Balanchine's achievement is the more remarkable for the aridity of much of the music—though a few passages are quite fine.

The next night, for the first time in a number of years, I saw Massine's "Three-Cornered Hat," which had grown rather dim in my memory. And I was delighted all over again by Picasso's setting and costumes, by Massine's choreographic invention, by his own dancing, and by the dancing of Argentinita.

Victor has replaced Schnabel's old recording of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 with the new one (Set 939, $5.78) that he made with the Chicago Symphony under Stock last summer, at the same time as he made the one of the Concerto No. 4 that Victor issued in December. The year that Schnabel took out for meditation and lecturing and writing has been paid for in the lessened precision of execution that has been evident in his playing since then. His performance of the Concerto No. 5 is more nearly perfect in execution than the one of No. 4—in addition to being as incomparably great in its conception of the work; and it is reproduced with a life-like clarity and distinctness—though I must add that, as in the case of No. 4, the sound of the piano is too bright and clangy. The orchestra is reproduced with impressive richness and spaciousness. And the set is one of the great events of the year.

In another Victor set (927, $3.68) are the arias "With Verdure Clad" and "On Mighty Pens" (with their recitatives) from Haydn's "Creation," and "Rejoice Greatly, O Daughter of Zion!" and "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth" from Handel's "Messiah," sung by Eleanor Steber, soprano, with the Victor Symphony under Charles O'Connell. Most of the music is very beautiful; and in some of it—in "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth" and "On Mighty Pens"—one hears a fine voice, used with excellent musicianship, but a little harshly metallic as reproduced by the records; while in the rest the voice is clouded by a strong tremolo, and the harshly metallic quality is more pronounced and disturbing. The orchestral accompaniments are rhythmically flabby and sometimes unsteady in pace; and they too are not well recorded, with the sound that is clear and bright at the beginning of some sides getting muffled and dull at the end.

In place of its old records of Stokowski's feverishly and glitteringly sensationalized performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's fine "Russian Easter" Overture with the Philadelphia Orchestra, Victor has issued a set (937, $2.63) containing Stokowski's even more feverishly and glitteringly sensationalized performance of the work with the N.B.C. Symphony, recorded with up-to-the-minute fidelity, brilliance, and spaciousness. Having performed less effectively with wind instruments passages in "Tristan" that Wagner wrote for voices, Stokowski now has a voice sing less effectively a chant-like passage in the Overture that Rimsky-Korsakov wrote for the trombone. I am not unaware of the grim humor in Stokowski's knowing better than Rimsky-Korsakov, who himself acted on his belief that he knew better than Mussorgsky how "Boris Godunov" should have been written.

Debussy's Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano (Set 938, $2.63), a late exercise of Debussyan style in a vacuum, is well played by Mischa Elman and Leopold Mittman; and their performance is more beautifully recorded than the Dubois-Maas performance in the old Columbia set. Weinberger's Czech Rhapsody (11-8297, $1.05), a negligible piece of music, is well performed by Kindler with the National Symphony; and the performance is richly recorded.

B. H. HAGGIN

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Mr. Hugh Dave McWhirt Looks After the $1.00 Investment in the Pilot Newspaper and Contributes Generously of His Time and Thoughts. With an Introduction by James Boyd, Publisher of the Pilot. The Pilot.

The Battle for Buenos Aires. By Sax Bradford. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

Kendall of the Picayune. By Fayette Copeland. Oklahoma. $3.

Journey Among Warriors. By Eve Curie. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

The Feeding of War Workers. A Selected, Annotated Bibliography. Prepared by Rita B. Friedman. Industrial Relations Section, Princeton. 25 cents.

The Maine Idea. Stories and Pictures Arranged by Keith Warren Jennison. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

Order in the Court. By John C. Knox. Scribner's. $2.75.

The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes. His Speeches, Essays, Letters and Judicial Opinions. Selected and Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by Max Lerner. Little, Brown. $4.

Introduction to Modern English and American Literature. By W. Somerset Maugham. New Home Library. 69 cents.

The Economics of War. By Horst Mendershausen. Revised. Prentice-Hall. $3.55.

Founded Upon the Seas. A Narrative of Some English Maritime and Overseas Enterprises During the Period 1550 to 1616. By Walter Oakeshott. Oxford. $3.50.

George Gascoigne's *A Hundredth Sundrie Flownes.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. T. Prouty. Missouri. $ .50.

The Moonlight Traveler. Great Tales of Fantasy and Imagination. Selected and with an Introduction by Philip Van Doren Stern. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

Thomas Wolfe's Letters to His Mother Julia Elizabeth Wolfe. Edited with an Introduction by John Skally Terry. Scribner's. $3.

Miracle in Hellas: The Greeks Fight On. By Betty Wason. Macmillan. $2.75.

Mind, Medicine, and Man. By Gregory Zilboorg, M.D. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

The Living Thoughts of Clausewitz. Presented by Colonel Joseph I. Greene. Longmans, Green. $1.50.

Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850. By Albert Post. Columbia. $3.

Front Line. The Official Story of the Civil Defense of Britain. Macmillan. $1.50.

Constitution Making in a Democracy: Theory and Practice in New York State. By Vernon O'Rourke and Douglas W. Campbell. Johns Hopkins. $2.75.

The Sword Was Their Passport: A History of American Filibustering in the Mexican Revolution. By Harris Gaylord Warren. Louisiana State University Press. $3.

An Invitation to Spanish. By Margarita Madrigal and Ezequias Madrigal. Simon and Schuster. $1.50.

New York Plans for the Future. By Cleveland Rodgers. Harpers. $3.

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Letters to the Editors

Russia and the Comintern

Dear Sirs: Dr. Niebuhr, in his criticism of my review of "America, Russia, and the Communist Party in the Post War World," enthusiastically misses the point. I did not chide the authors of that dubious little book for their very reasoned criticism of the policies of the Communist Party. I have myself been a critic of those policies. I did rebuke them for their ridiculous exaggerations and pointed out the dangers inherent in the proposal to make our good relations with the U. S. S. R. depend upon Moscow's repudiation of the Comintern.

Messrs. Childs, Counts, and Niebuhr are anxious to achieve genuine collaboration with Russia in the post-war world, but they should not raise issues which one of them, Dr. Niebuhr, regards as not the real cause of disagreement between the capitalist democracies and the U. S. S. R. That Dr. Niebuhr does know that the Comintern is not the issue is suggested by his statement that the authors "are afraid that the irrelevancies of local Communists will imperil that collaboration by *seeming* to justify reactionary opposition to partnership with Russia" (my italics). Communist Party activities, that is to say, merely seem to justify capitalist hostility; yet Dr. Niebuhr thinks that those activities wholly justify liberal hatred.

And let it be restated. The tactics of the Comintern have frequently estranged the labor movement, particularly its right wing, from the U. S. S. R. But neither the existence of the Comintern nor its methods have been the cause of the ineradicable hatred felt by the old ruling classes. There was no Comintern in 1917 when intervention against the young Soviet state began. The British Communist Party was not founded until August, 1920, when the British government had been engaged in war and subvention of war against the U. S. S. R. for two years. The Labor Party in those days thoroughly understood that what the British Tories desired in attempting to destroy the Soviets was the destruction of the entire working-class movement of Europe, reformist or revolutionary. The fear of reform and revolution and the fear of the Soviet Union as a collectivist state, not dislike of the Comintern as a separate factor, was at the bottom, middle depth, and surface of Tory hostility. It was so throughout the whole period between wars. Not the 1,400 British Communists nor the 45,000 members of the Spanish Party provided the reason for the policy of non-intervention which destroyed the Spanish Republic. The betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia was in no way the consequence of Mr. Pollitt's manners. The attempt to isolate the Soviet Union at Munich was not a result of Chamberlain's fear of the Comintern but of his fear of the millions who were growing dissatisfied with capitalist society. Experience has shown that the Comintern's practical abandonment of revolutionary policies after 1933 made not the slightest difference to the capitalist opposition. The ruling classes of Europe would have none of the U. S. S. R. This fact supports my belief that the abolition of the Comintern, while it would delight Dr. Niebuhr, would be of little interest to the realistic Tories. And, it must be said again, a Soviet Union that managed to restore itself and grow prosperous, with or without the Communist Party, will be feared by the diehards. Conversely, sound liberals, whether or not the Communist Party continues to exist, will always seek to frustrate the diehards even when those liberals disapprove of Soviet foreign policy, as this writer upon occasion has done.

With a certain lack of tactical sense I added in two lines of my review that I believed a united front desirable. And that gave Dr. Niebuhr a peg upon which to hang an all too characteristic tirade. But the question of the United Front is not really relevant to the discussion of the Modest Proposal. Nevertheless, though I would like to defer lengthy debate on the united front, Dr. Niebuhr is wrong again when he says that I urge the united front in order to bring about unity between the governments of the United Nations. The European united front I think to be necessary in the fight against Hitler and as a means of frustrating, in the post-war world, the Girauds, the Peyroutons, and the Francos who may have been established by governments which, very manifestly, liberals cannot control. Or perhaps Dr. Niebuhr can guarantee to the European masses that American liberals will deal with this problem satisfactorily?

RALPH BATES

New York, April 20

Keep the FSA

Dear Sirs: Recent news items show plainly that the Farm Security Administration has gone to bat for farmers—dairy farmers included. FSA is the *only* farm agency actually providing the *necessary skilled help* for farmers, and has already moved into New York more than 200 farmers from Kentucky and West Virginia—with more coming all through the month of April. All receive training at agricultural schools before being hired—as farming in the South is different from that in the North.

This is exactly what farmers are asking for—help that knows how to handle machinery and doesn't have to be followed around every minute. It is what the country desperately needs if there is to be enough food for civilian and military needs. How unfortunate, then, that the so-called "farm-bloc" succeeded in limiting FSA on the common-sense program. Instead, we have palmed off on us a so-called "land army" of school boys and city workers. It is nice to know that city people are ready to cooperate, but too often it will not be worth the effort. You can't put people at work they are unfamiliar with and expect much. In the long run, it is city consumers who will suffer if a lack of skilled farm help decreases food production.

The ball was started rolling when the big-business farm bloc got Congress to pass a law fixing cotton acreage at a minimum of 26,000,000 acres. As a result, cotton acreage was boosted, and the man-power, machinery, and fertilizer problems for the rest of agriculture were balled up. The farm bloc is unwilling to curtail cotton production in spite of the fact that warehouses are said to overflow with a two-year supply of cotton.

An example of the cost to the rest of agriculture, and the consuming public, of not reducing the cotton acreage: More than 2,000,000 people work at harvesting cotton, and 2,000,000 tons of fertilizer are used each year on these cotton fields; release 50 per cent of the labor and fertilizer for increased production of essential war crops and we shall take a long step toward solving food shortages.

President O'Neal of the Farm Bureau has an Alabama plantation and argues that cotton acreage must be kept up be-

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cause of the oil-bearing cotton seeds! Wouldn't it make more sense to grow more peanuts, soy beans, and other oil-producing products? Since when must we grow cotton just to get oil?

The farm bloc, of which the Farm Bureau is an important part, has stood in the way of FSA too long as it is. If this interference continues, food-production goals will be sacrificed. Give to FSA the leadership it has so well earned in solving the farm labor shortage. Put the money for transportation back into the fund for the land army—let FSA, instead of the Farm Bureau, administer the funds so FSA can carry out its original intention to provide farmers with 3,500,000 skilled farm workers instead of the 3,500,000 school boys and city workers the Farm Bureau is now endeavoring to get together. We are at war—not play. We must produce to win—and each must do the job he knows best if production is to be accomplished and not bungled.

RUTH E. HILL

Jamesville, N. Y., April 15

Dr. Stoecker

Dear Sirs: Recently the metropolitan press briefly noted the death in New York City of Dr. Helene Stoecker, whom it characterized as a German feminist leader. That she was—if the phrase must still be used—but she was more truly a symbol of those, in Germany and throughout the world, whose lives have been devoted to social welfare and to peace.

She was born in 1869 in Elberfeld in the Rhineland. The care she bestowed, as the eldest child, upon her many brothers and sisters was her earliest preparation for the subsequent task of helping mothers and children. Her almost revolutionary decision to attend the University of Berlin led to the Ph.D. degree in 1901 and to the honor of being one of the first women to attain it. Later she studied at the University of Glasgow and the University of Berne.

In 1905 she founded the League for the Protection of Mothers and for Sex Reform and began publication of its periodical, the *New Generation*. Both the league and the periodical became internationally known. The National Socialists' ascent to power ended their existence in 1933. Through the work of the league, national and international congresses, and lectures in many countries including the United States, Helene Stoecker strove to raise relationships between the sexes to a higher level where they would be freed from the hampering bonds of archaic custom and law. She believed that love and motherhood and intellectual companionship between men and women were more sacred than narrow moralistic codes of sex conduct. For years she pleaded for the removal of the stigma from illegitimate children and from the mothers who had borne them. Supporters of the rigid code of morals that she decried attacked her furiously. They saw her only as an advocate of wantonness. They never knew her as the great respecter of the dignity of human life.

Because she believed so ardently in the worth of every human being, the First World War was a shattering experience for her. The insanity of war must cease, she declared. People in every country—and mothers first of all—must be organized to end its awful menace. Thus she embarked on the second half of her life's work. "To Love or to Hate," "Psychology of Sex and War," "Humanity, Woman, and the Sanctity of Life" were among her books against war. She became an active member of societies founded for the promotion of peace—The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the League of Human Rights, the International Peace Bureau in Geneva, on whose governing board she sat, and the German League for Peace, of which she was vice-president.

Immediately upon the accession of Herr Hitler and his cohorts, she left Germany for Switzerland. Her work could no longer be done in her native country, even if the Nazis tolerated her. Thus began the ten years' exile that took her around the world. From Switzerland she went to England to await a visa for the United States. While on a professional trip to Sweden, England's declaration of war closed the door to a westward passage. Finally, however, she got to Russia, across the Soviet Union to Japan, and across a still peaceful Pacific to San Francisco.

She had reached the United States—seven years after leaving Germany. She was ready to begin her work again, in spite of her more than seventy years and a surgical operation that had succeeded only in prolonging her life briefly. Once more, for a short while, she was a speaker at conventions, a leader in the long fight. Her books, papers, and the correspondence of many decades had been burned during a German raid on the London docks. She would write an autobiography, she told herself, which would recount the struggle for the emancipation of women and the emancipation of mankind from war. In a room overlooking the Hudson River, which she said was more beautiful than the Rhine, the autobiography grew chapter by chapter. But death overtook her. Some one else must finish the record.

PHILIPPINE HANNAK

New York, March 25

Precedent

Dear Sirs: Aha! "It sometimes seems to me as if he didn't marry on purpose to make me feel *badly*," said Lady Agatha Chasemore, a well-educated and correct young American lady, the heroine of a story called "The Modern Warning," by Henry James.

FRANK JONES

New Haven, Conn., April 23

Brito Foucher

Dear Sirs: In the March 27 issue of *The Nation*, in your column entitled In the Wind, is a statement concerning the New England Institute of Inter-American Affairs which was recently held at Boston University. Two things in that statement warrant reply: In the first place, Brito Foucher was by no means the only representative from Mexico at our institute. We had five distinguished Mexicans in addition to the rector of the National University. In the second place, let me submit the following statements concerning the invitation extended to Rodulfo Brito Foucher:

1. In preparing the program we desired a number of Mexicans and South Americans. The reason for this desire is inherent in the purpose of the institute.

2. I asked the Pan-American Union in Washington to recommend a distinguished university president ("rector," as they call a university head in Latin America). Brito Foucher was recommended as the best one for us to get.

3. We invited Brito Foucher because he is the distinguished head of the National University of Mexico, the oldest university on the North American continent.

4. The first protest was received two days before he was due to arrive in Boston, presumably after he had already left Mexico City. However, I called on the telephone both the director general of the Pan-American Union and the ambassador from Mexico to the United States and made known to them the nature of the protests. They both advised us to keep Brito Foucher on our program.

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5. All the protests that reach me make the same charges in almost identical language. I know that they all stem from the same source—and I do not regard that source as authoritative.

6. When the invitation was extended we knew nothing about Brito Foucher's political or economic theories. After his arrival in Boston I talked with him frankly about his alleged sympathy with Nazism and fascism. He assured me that there was not a word of truth in the charges; that the allegation was a contemptible political "knifing" by certain "leftists" in Mexico who are politically ambitious and who think that Brito Foucher might expose their selfishness. Hence they seek to belittle him in the United States by calling him anti-democratic and pro-fascist, and they seek to belittle him in Mexico by calling him pro-United States. Incidentally, it should interest anybody of intelligence to note that Brito Foucher was a guest of the United States government during his visit here. I saw the letter, duly stamped and signed, written him on behalf of the State Department by Mr. Messersmith, the United States ambassador to Mexico, inviting him to be the guest of our government during his stay in this country.

7. Although I do not know that Brito Foucher has ever spoken approvingly of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco, I cannot refrain asking: What if he did? We all know that there was a time when many Americans—even Americans in prominent positions—spoke enthusiastically of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco, and of their works in their respective countries. But we do not now question the loyalty of such Americans. Why not exercise the same tolerance toward a Mexican?

8. I think that the spirit that would prevent the presence of the duly constituted rector of a great university on such a program as this because of dislike of his religious, political, or economic theories is more menacing to true democracy than Brito Foucher can possibly be.

DANIEL L. MARSH,
President Boston University

Boston, Mass., March 29

[We are glad to know that Brito Foucher was not the only representative from Mexico at the New England Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

We are astounded to learn that it would make no difference to the president of Boston University even if he were sure that Mr. Foucher had spoken approvingly of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

We are puzzled, in view of Mr. Marsh's attitude, to find him entering so violent a protest against our statement that Mr. Foucher had given evidence of pro-fascist sympathies.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Not So Many

Dear Sirs: May I correct an erroneous impression given by Mr. Frank Jones in his review "Skilled Workers" in your issue of April 17? "Of a recent group, Masefield recurs annually, sometimes oftener; Eberhart and Flanner every two or three years." The erroneous impression is that I have published many books. That is not true, nor are the specified intervals correct. I have up to this date published three books. The London and New York dates are, respectively: 1929, 1930; 1936, 1937; 1940, 1942.

Opinions are to be respected, in some degree, as such. Misrepresentations of fact, when possible, should be jettisoned.

RICHARD EBERHART, Lieut. U. S. N. R.

Hollywood, Fla., April 24

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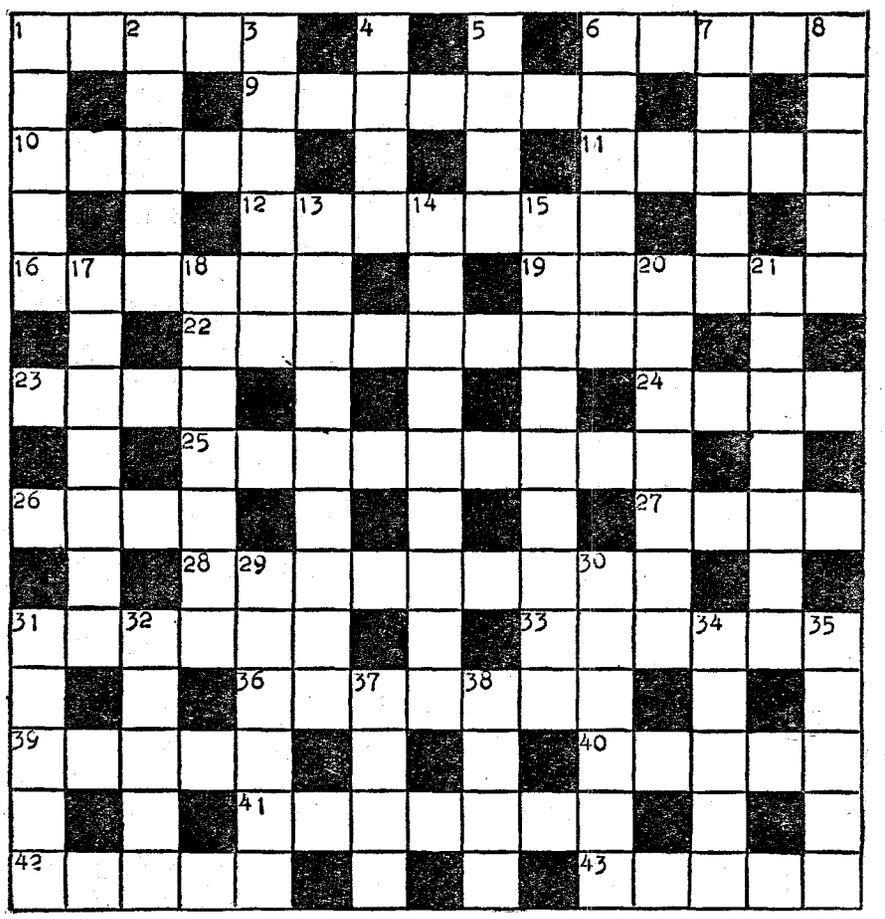
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 12

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Name of two U. S. Presidents
6 Snake which inspires its anagram
9 Something put by for a rainy day, perhaps
10 One of the lower classes
11 If you can't increase income try to reduce this
12 Signified? It is not in deed
16 A Texan naturally displays temper if you knock his block off
19 Contracts
22 Awkwardness due to an unsuitable cape?
23 Shakespearean king
24 Pro-American British statesman (1708-1778)
25 A "brain truster" of Plato's day
26 The pursuit of pale pills by purple people
27 A sly look backward
28 Mathematical result produced by a Scot in R. A. F.
31 Montaigne thought it sometimes more triumphant than victory
33 This is always wanted
36 A vendetta started this writer going
39 A round in two senses
40 Wine after tea? This ought to tie you up
41 He prefers his own company
42 He managed to push them along in the old coaching days
43 Leads in confusion

DOWN

1 Change this
2 An outside lie
3 The turf in front of the lair is wet
4 Mackintoshes perhaps?
5 Hidden in: Would you risk it if you were me?
6 An article on poetry has electrifying results
7 "Our feelings we with difficulty smother, When constabulary - - - - - to be done" (Pirates of Penzance)
8 Castles in the air
13 A tied race (anag.)
14 What the virtues of consumers' goods need no longer be? (hyphen, 3 and 6)
15 Fisher Ames felt that biennial ones gave the people an opportunity for second thoughts
17 One name for a flower
18 Highest form of animal life?
20 Slander
21 "Virtuous and vicious every man must be, Few in the - - - - - - -, but all in the degree" (Pope)
29 This may be over your head
30 Captured
31 Detachment with the medical officer behind
32 Where the fighting is thickest.
34 Suitable material for soldiers in training?
35 Pistols-for-two-coffee-for-one affairs
37 You can make sure of this
38 Seen in the eye, the sky and the garden

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 11

ACROSS:—1 SHIP OF THE LINE; 10 NANKEEN; 11 OCULIST; 12 INDIANA; 13 ICE COOL; 14 PEGASUS; 15 ROSSINI; 16 SKEPTIC; 20 GOERING; 23 TISSUES; 24 SAPSAGO; 25 ORLANDO; 26 LEADERS; 27 AN EYE FOR AN EYE.

DOWN:—2 HANGDOG; 3 PIECANS; 4 FENIANS; 5 HOOSIER; 6 LAURELS; 7 NAIROBI; 8 INDISPOSITION; 9 STALKING HORSE; 17 EX-SOLON; 18 TRUANCY; 19 CAST-OFF; 20 GESSLER; 21 EXPLAIN; 22 IMAGERY.

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Letters from Nation Associates

[We present here a second selection of the many letters from subscribers all over the country who have responded to *The Nation's* appeal for funds. A report of the results of the campaign appears on page 649 of this issue.]

Mr. Mencken's Conscience

Unhappily, I am forbidden by my conscience, always very tender, to put my millions behind a magazine so implacably opposed to free speech as *The Nation* is. But there are ways of hocusing even conscience, and my confessor, a very smart casuist, suggests one. Within is a modest check. If you will hand it over to your circulation manager, and instruct him to send *The Nation* for as long as you think fit to as many archbishops as it will cover, then I can plead Not Guilty post mortem. You are free to choose your own archbishops. If it turns out that all of them in the New Deal nations are already subscribers, then substitute bishops.

H. L. MENCKEN

Baltimore, Md.

Happy to Help

I am happy to help as much as I can to keep such a paper as *The Nation* alive. Yes, indeed, I take my hat off to *The Nation* for its vigorous stand toward preserving our liberties and fighting the monster fascism that is trying to get the whole world into its clutches.

I am sorry I can't do any better at this time, but perhaps will be able to do more later. I am only a poor farmer trying my best to get out of debt before I have to leave this hypocritical world.

JOE PINTAR

Ralph, S. D.

To the Fourth Generation

Your letter came to me this noon and I am inclosing my check.

Yes, it would be a calamity to have *The Nation* go out and a special loss to me who have read it sixty-three years —since I went as a newly married girl to live in Cleveland from my home in Detroit. My husband had started taking *The Nation* as a boy, having first seen and read it at a news counter, and though at that time pocket money was scarce, it became one of the necessities. After his death in 1908 I of course kept on with *The Nation* and have never been without it since. Even during a period of four years when I lived in Europe it was sent to me from home.

My daughter and granddaughters read it, and I hope my great-grandson will, when he is a little older. I shall be most interested as well as anxious to know the outcome of your present undertaking.

MRS. A. L. WITHINGTON

Medford, Ore.

Out of Italy

I am a political refugee from Italy, and here I am employed as shipping clerk and quite lucky to have this job that allows me to make a modest living. Long before I came to this country in 1939 I used to read *The Nation,* and I smuggled it into Italy every time I bought it during my frequent visits in France or Switzerland, or other free European countries.

We all know only too well how much easier it would be for a philo-fascist publication to find generous, or rather royal support, and we know also how sad this is. It would be so useful if the circulation of *The Nation* could be boosted, as the need for progressive thinking is great even in the free U. S. A.

I inclose a money order for $2 and I will be glad if you can accept my modest contribution. With my best wishes for the future of *The Nation,* and for the success of your activity.

FRED M. SACCO

Los Angeles, Cal.

Bible

I cannot resist writing you a note to wish you success in your campaign for *The Nation.* I have read it for years. In fact, I couldn't get along without it. My father says I remind him of a lady in Louisville, Kentucky, during the Civil War who said she read only the Bible and the *Courier-Journal* and recently had given up the Bible! In our household *The Nation* is referred to as my Bible.

The inclosed check comes from my roommate and me. We both read every issue and have felt for a long while that you hit the nail squarely on the head.

DOROTHY ATKINS

Cincinnati, Ohio

From an Individual

I do not remember a time when there wasn't *The Nation,* and if I have read it fitfully during the past ten years, that has been owing more to circumstances than lack of interest. It seems to me, as I hope it will seem to everyone to whom you have appealed for help, that, on balance, *The Nation* has been consistently right in its philosophy of government even though it has often misjudged specific events and particular people. Jefferson—who is currently being quoted and misquoted by everybody—would, I believe, have found much to quarrel with in the pages of *The Nation,* and yet he would have read it straight through every week, and he would have found the time to put you straight occasionally. And he certainly would not have had you fail!

If *The Nation* in the past five or six years, has become alternately cold and querulous, hot and scolding (*cacoethes carpiendi*), if it has lost its spiritual touch, if it has tended to forget what America has been like and is like by over-emphasis on what it thinks America *should* be like, this is after all, as Robert Frost might have said, hardly more than a lovers' quarrel that you have had with America. Or, to quote another poet, Whitman, because "America's compact is eternally with the individual," and because I believe, in the final analysis, so is *The Nation's,* it pleases this *individual* very much to subscribe as a Foundation member.

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Washington, D. C.

Half a Century

I certainly hope that *The Nation* will keep on. I would be lost without it, having been a reader of the magazine for over half a century and, come next spring, a subscriber for forty years—except for the year 1915 when I felt that *The Nation* was entirely too anti-German. Not that I was pro-German, but I was against the whole war and wanted fair play for all.

Sometime early in 1904 you will find a note about George Hartwig, the Halle librarian. That was my first contribution to *The Nation,* and with the check received I started my first subscription.

AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

Mobile, Ala.

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